

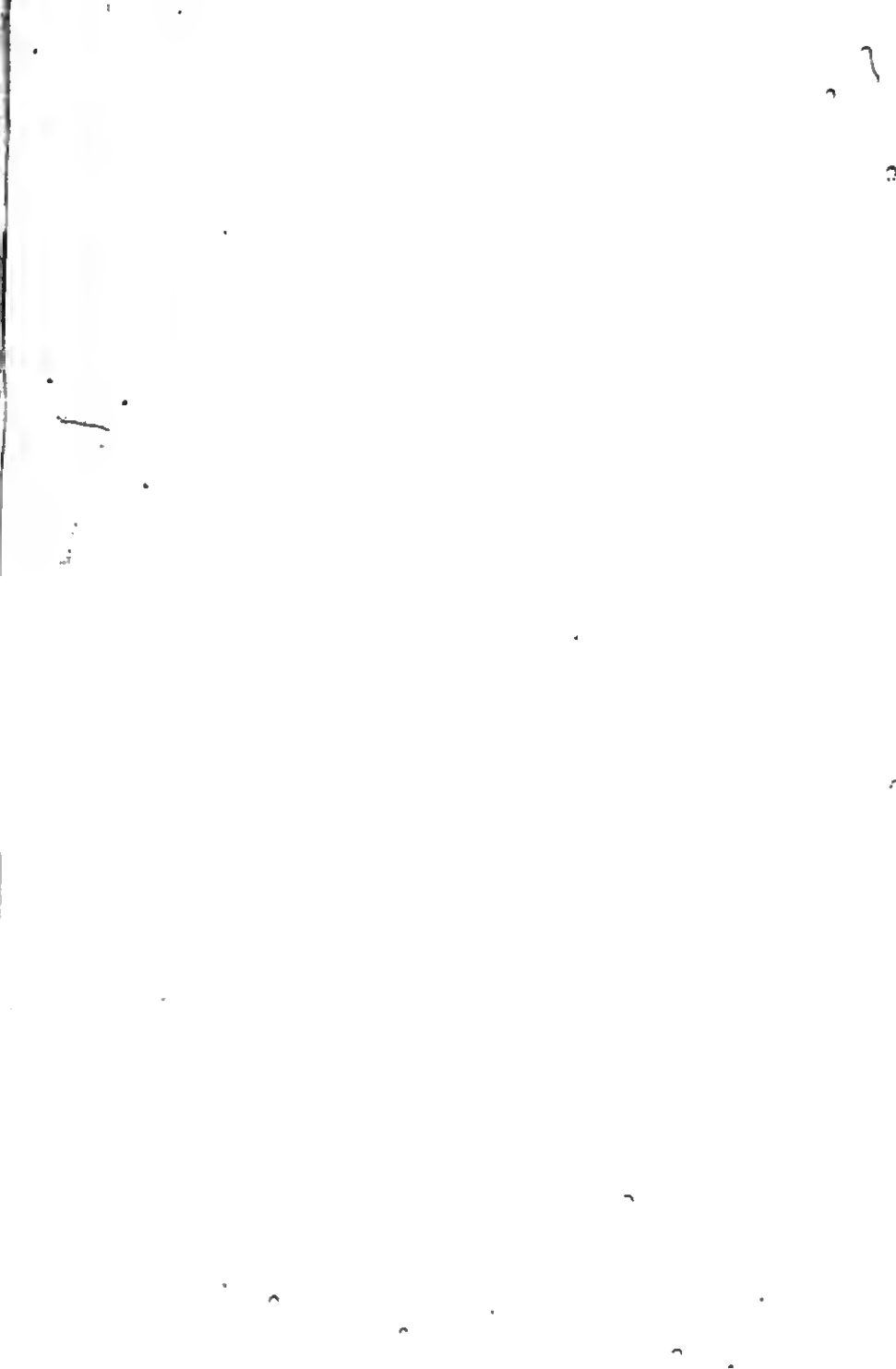
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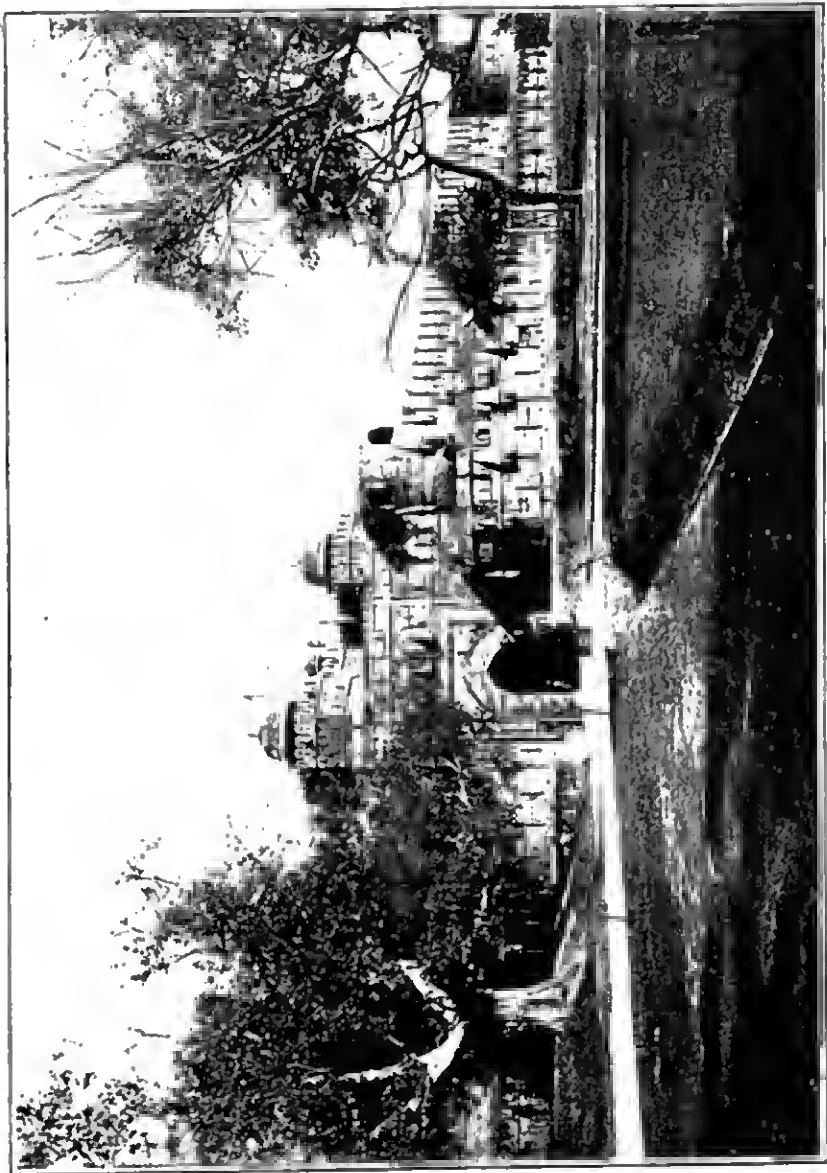
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AGRA FORT. Delhi Gate, View from North-West.

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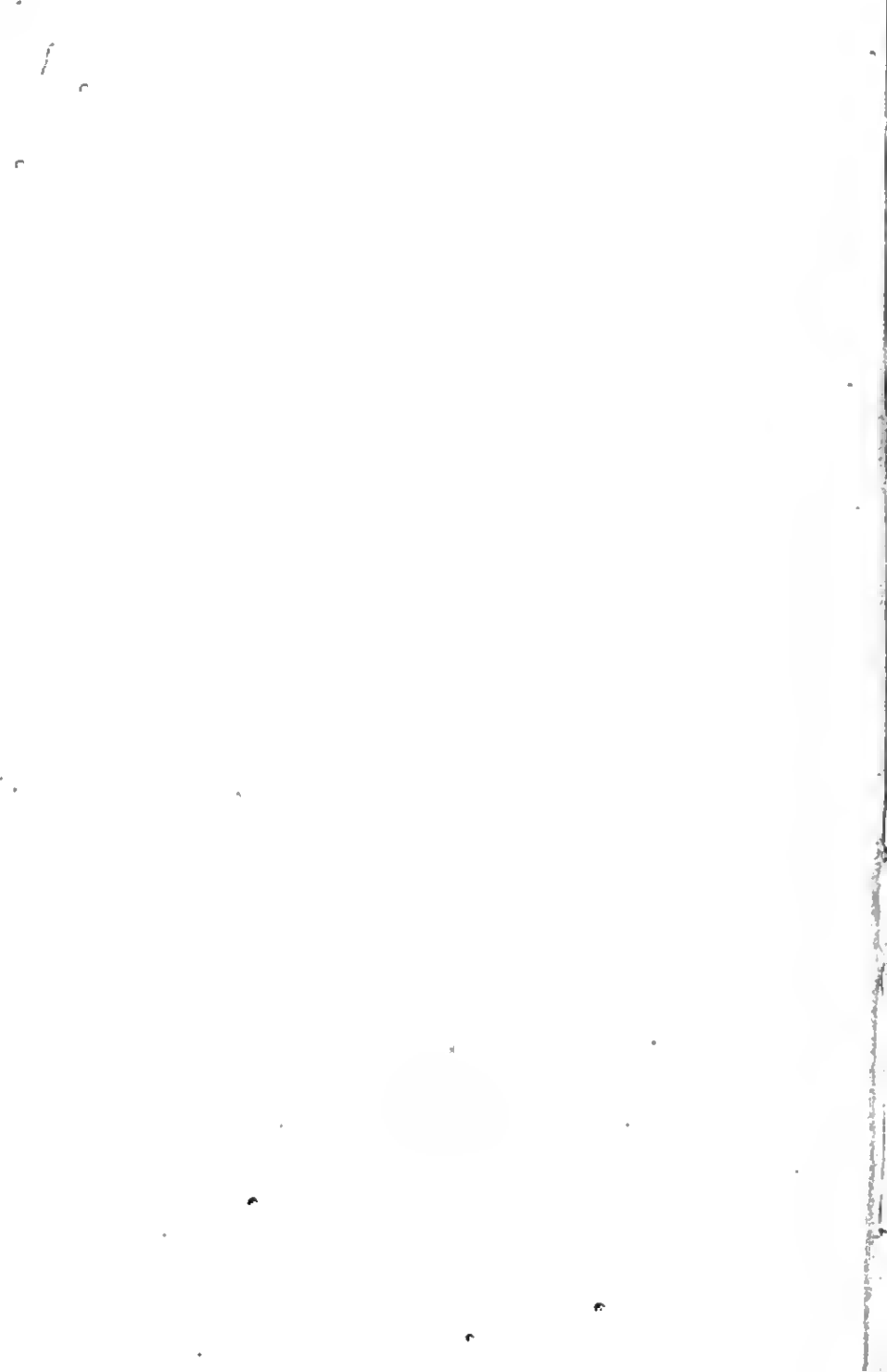
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PREFACE.

THE district of Agra teems with relics of the past particularly of those connected with the rule of the Mughal Emperors. The city of Agra flourished in the days of Akbar the Great, and was his capital as also, for some time, of his son Jahangir and his grandson Shah Jahan. As such it is rich in monuments that still attract visitors from all parts of the world. The Fort at Agra contains the palaces, mosques and subsidiary buildings put up by the Mughal emperors in the 16th and 17th centuries A.D. which are as elegant in beauty as they are diverse in design.

In view of the fact that no authentic or authorised account of these beautiful buildings has been published by the Archaeological Department for the benefit of visitors, who have perforce mostly to depend on unreliable information given to them by their guides, the Director General of Archaeology in India was asked by His Excellency the Viceroy in 1927-28 to prepare brief historical notices for all the protected monuments in the Agra district, similar to those at Delhi. The notices, duly printed, may now be seen fixed to the respective monuments to which they refer.

This action of the Department received universal appreciation. As, however, these notices

were all too brief and sketchy for the serious student of history and archæology, it was considered expedient to prepare small guide-books to the historical buildings in the Agra district, similar to the "Guide to the Qutb" and the "Historical Guide to the Delhi Fort," already published by the Archaeological Department. The present volume dealing with the Agra Fort is published in the hope that it will supply the want long felt by visitors who come to see these ancient buildings. I hope to deal with the rest of the monuments in Agra in other guide-books.

In the present handbook the buildings have been arranged in a sequence decided by their position and it will be convenient to visitors to study them in the same order. Care has been taken not to overburden the reader with exhaustive descriptions of each building, for, standing in front of each in turn, visitors will naturally be more interested in their past history or other important associations than in the reading of unnecessary details.

Every effort has been made to put before the reader, as far as possible, the most authentic account of the Agra Fort buildings that can be gleaned from original contemporary histories. Thus several erroneous views based on tradition and conjecture that have found their way into most of the guide-books to Agra have been scrutinized and discarded, and it is hoped readers now being in possession of full and correct data, will no longer need lend their

ears to legendary stories of an all but forgotten past. This book lays no claim to finality, and any reasonable suggestions based on authentic records will be gratefully accepted.

This handbook has been provided with an index, and its appendix, wherein all the inscriptions in the Agra Fort have been included, will, it is hoped, not be devoid of interest to students of history and epigraphy.

Finally mention may also be made of the various historical works and other books consulted by me in the course of the compilation of this guide. They have been duly acknowledged in the footnotes, but I feel I must not close before recording here that, besides contemporary histories, Keene's "Handbook to Agra," Havell's "Agra and the Taj," Newell's "Three days at Agra," and the District Gazetteer of Agra have been of much help to me.

MUHAMMAD ASHRAF HUSAIN.

AGRA FORT

A GUIDE

TO THE

HISTORICAL BUILDINGS AND GARDENS

HISTORY.

TO the south of the Agra Fort station lies the fort of Agra on the right bank of the Jumna about a mile above the Tāj. It marks the site of the old castle of Badalgarh¹ the history of which is obscure. That there was a fort in Agra is evident from the ode (*Qaṣīda*) of Salṃān composed in praise of Mas'ūd III,² a

¹ Tradition asserts that the old fortress of Badalgarh, possibly an old Tomāra or Qhaubān stronghold, was only altered and adapted to his requirements by Akbar, while others hold that the old castle existed elsewhere, for Akbar could not have pulled down such a huge fabric simply to gratify his desire to have a citadel entirely of his own making. But Jahāngīr in his *Memoirs* (Persian text, p. 2) leaves no room for conjecture as he clearly says that his father levelled to the ground "an old fort on the bank of the Jumna and built on its site a magnificent fort of red sandstone....." In any case the citadel was called Badalgarh, not Bādalgārh, for Bad-dāyūnī speaks about the latter as a lofty structure at the foot of the fort of Gwalior (Cf. *Muntakhabu-t-Tawārīkh*, Persian text, Vol. I, p. 327).

² *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* (Persian text, p. 2, Aligarh Edition, 1864) calls him, Maḥmūd, but it is evidently a misprint since Maḥmūd Ghaznavī's grandson, Ibrāhīm, had no other son than Mas'ūd III and the other historical works trace his genealogy as follows:—Mas'ūd III, son of Ibrāhīm, son of Mas'ūd I, son of Maḥmūd of Ghazna (Cf. Lans Poole's *Muhammadian Dynasties*, p. 290).

Mas'ūd
son of
Shah

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great-grand-son of Maḥmūd of Ghazna (1099-1114) long before the advent of the Lodi Kings; but in the absence of its name it cannot be said with certainty whether it was the same citadel as came to be called Badalgarḥ subsequently.

The castle of Badalgarḥ suffered much during the earthquake of 911 A. H. (1505 A. D.) in the reign of Sikandar Shāh and was finally razed to the ground by the Emperor Akbar to make room for his new citadel.

✓ The present fort was built by the Emperor Akbar in about 8 years (1565-73)¹ at a cost of 35 lacs of rupees² under the superintendence of Muḥammad Qāsim Khān, Mīr-i-Baḥr, or harbour-master.³ Akbar is responsible for the construction of its walls and gates, Aurangzeb for the *Sher-i-Hāji* or ramparts, five gateways and the

¹ Various dates are traditionally assigned to the erection of the fort ranging from 1567 to 1571. *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* (Persian text, p. 2) gives the period of construction 15 or 16 years, but the *Bādshāhnāma* (Persian text, Vol. I, p. 154) and *Ain-i-Akbarī* (Blochmann's translation, Vol. I, p. 380) are probably correct in saying that the Fort was completed in 8 years time, i.e., 972-980 A. H. (1565-73 A. D.).

² The *Ain-i-Akbarī* gives the cost as 7 crores of Akbarī tankas which is equivalent to 35 lakhs of rupees. Khāfi Khān (*Muntaḥabul-Lubāb*, Persian text, Part I, p. 165) erroneously estimates the expenditure at 20 lakhs of rupees only, but the *Bādshāhnāma* (Persian text, Vol. I, p. 155) and *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* (Persian text, p. 2) are decidedly correct as they give the same figure as is given in the *Ain-i-Akbarī*. For further discussion on the costs of buildings mentioned in the original records of history, please see *infra*, under Moti Masjid, page 44 footnote.

³ Muḥammad Qāsim Khān was the Commander-in-Chief by land and sea and governor of Kabul on behalf of Akbar (Cf. *Muntaḥabul-Tawārīkh*, Persian text, Vol. II, p. 372).

fosse outside,¹ while most of the principal buildings in it were erected by Shāh Jahān (Plate VIII).

DIMENSIONS.

In shape the Fort is semi-circular or rather an irregular triangle, with its base along the river bank on the east measuring about half a mile and the apex at the Delhi Gate, or Hāthi Pol, on the west, opposite the railway station. The north-west side of this irregular triangle is a little smaller than the south-west, which is about half a mile in length. These sides are further interrupted by graceful curves and lofty bastions and the total circuit of the Fort is about a mile and a half.

WALLS AND GATEWAYS.

The Fort is provided with 4 gates, viz., the AMAR SINGH GATE, on the south² which gives access to the historical buildings inside, the DELHI GATE on the north towards the city leading to the Military Area as separated from the Archaeological Area (Plate I), and

¹ It is commonly believed that the walls, both outer and inner, were made by Akbar and the guide writers are doubtful about the construction of the outer moat by Aurangzeb. But the '*Alamgir-nāma* (Persian text, pp. 423-25) besides mentioning certain repairs to the Fort executed by Aurangzeb positively assigns to him about the year 1660 the erection of the ramparts, the moat outside and five gateways "three of which" says the author "face the Hāthi Pol, Khizri and Akbari Gates respectively, the fourth on the right hand of the gateway towards the Shāh Burj and the fifth towards the riverside in front of the Khurdi Darwāza (?) situated under the auspicious (*Darshan*) Jharoka." These additions took 3 years to complete.

² For the convenience of visitors the Archaeological Department has accommodated the Booking Office at this gate wherefrom admission tickets to the Fort can be purchased at two annas per head.

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the WATER and the NORTH-EAST GATEWAYS which, though now closed, appear to have originally been provided with gates. The last named gate was probably the public entrance to the EAST ENCLOSURE, while the WATER GATE, near the centre of the river front, seems to have given access to the enclosure south of the MUTHAMMAN BURJ, or octagonal tower, probably reserved for the imperial *haram* for whose benefit it may have been once beautifully laid out.

The Fort is surrounded by a double wall, loop-holed for musketry and crowned by rampart-ways behind embattled parapets, but a part of the inner wall on the east is occupied by palaces and other edifices with the SHAH BURJ and BENGALI BURJ at the northern and southern extremities respectively. The distance between the two parallel walls is about 40 feet, except on the riverside, and between them is a narrow paved ditch from the bottom of which the outer wall is about 65 feet high and the inner about 105 feet. The average distance between the walls facing the river is about 180 feet, the area enclosed by them being known as the EAST ENCLOSURE. The walls are not really of such strength as they appear to be, being merely faced by a veneer of red sandstone block in the rubble hearting of which sand is the chief ingredient; but in Akbar's times when the system of warfare was not so advanced as at present, the Fort must certainly have been considered impregnable.

SOUTH GATEWAY.

The stone-paved road, crossing the wooden draw-bridge and emerging from the SOUTH GATEWAY

ascends and enters the barbican, in the north jamb of which, on a red sandstone post, can be seen indentations at a height of about 6 or 7 feet from the floor. Tradition asserts that the marks were made by the bracelets of Amar Singh's widow who, on hearing of her husband's death, dashed her hands against the stone in grief. But they appear to have been caused either in transit by the friction of the wheels of the cart on which the stone was brought to the Fort, or later by the contact of some projecting battens of the massive door when being opened or closed.

AMAR SINGH GATE.

The road further ascends and reaches the AMAR SINGH DARWĀZA (Amar Singh's Gateway). It is a fine portal ornamented with glazed tile and commonly believed to have been built at a later date by Shāh Jahān and named after Amar Singh Rāthor, the Mahārāja of Jodhpur, who was killed in the Emperor's presence for violating the sanctity of the *darbar* by slaying Ṣalābat Khān, the Imperial chief treasurer. The doubt regarding the date of its construction has arisen chiefly because the famous traveller Finch has not mentioned the Gateway in his narrative of the Fort. But then the traveller's description is never exhaustive and in the present instance is limited to the parts of the Fort he had seen. Architecturally there is nothing to distinguish this gate from the Delhi Gate which is very similar in design, and there is no reason to doubt that both the portals were erected by Akbar. It was by this gateway that, later in 1803, the victorious armies of Lord Lake entered the Fort, and its upper storey was used as the lock-up for British

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soldiers until the removal of the Military Prison from the Fort.

SALIMGARH.

To the west of the Dīwān-i-‘Ām Court and on the highest ground in the Fort, stands the SALIMGARH (Fort of Salim), traditionally assigned to mark the site of a palace built by Salīm Shāh Sūr (1545-52), but probably erected by Prince Salim, afterwards Emperor Jahāngir (1605-27), as its close resemblance to the monuments at Fathpur Sikri suggests. It is a two-storied pavilion, the upper half of which is exquisitely carved on the exterior, and Fergusson mentions a *bāradarī* (open hall), even more beautiful, once attached to it which has since been demolished to make room for military barracks.

The purpose of the building is not known. It cannot, however, be the Music Hall attached to the Akbarī Mahal as Keene (*Handbook to Agra*, p. 147) observes because it is so far from it, but it may be supposed to have been used as a Naubat-*khāna* (Music Hall) attached to the Dīwān-i-‘Ām (Hall of Public Audience) on the east to announce the arrival and departure of the Emperor.

It was used as a canteen until 1902 when the Government decided to open it to the public.

HAUZ-I-JAHANGIRI.

The HAUZ-I-JAHANGIRI, or cistern of Jahāngir, is cupshaped, cut out of a single block of light coloured porphyry, with steps inside and outside. It is 5 feet high and 4 feet deep with the edge about 6 inches thick. The external diameter measures 8 feet and the circumference about 25 feet. There are several legends about it :

Some call it BHĪM RĀJA-KĪ-KUNDĪ (the Bhang Bowl of Rāja Bhīm) while others assign its construction to Akbar for the bath of his infant son, Prince Salim afterwards Emperor Jahāngīr. But a much mutilated embossed Persian inscription¹ on it recording the name of the Emperor Jahāngīr and the date 1019 A. H. (1611 A. D.) leads one to suppose that the bowl has some association with the Emperor's marriage to Nūr Jabān in 1019 A.H. (1611 A. D.) and might have served as a curious present from or to the Imperial bridegroom.

Soon after the Mutiny of 1857 it was found buried in front of the Jahāngīrī Mahal and removed to the Agra Cantonment Garden where it lay for many years under the fictitious name of Bhīm Rāja-kī-Kundī. The bath was, however, brought back to the Fort and placed before the Diwān-i-ʿĀm whence it was again removed to its present position in 1907 on the occasion of the investiture of His Majesty Amīr Ḥabībullāb Khān of Afghanistan with the Order of the Bath.

AKBARĪ MAHAL.

THE AKBARĪ MAHAL, or Akbar's Palace, is now completely in ruins and only a few traces of its foundations are seen which show that it once consisted of spacious courts surrounded by a series of capacious chambers. Being situated between the JAHĀNGĪRĪ MAHAL on the north and the BENGĀLĪ BURJ on the south, it may be the palace, or a part of it, described by De Laet as comprising "three sets, in which the

¹ For inscription, see *Appendix*, Inscription No. I, p. 49.

concubines of the king are shut up; whereof one set is called Lettewar (Itwār), from the name for Sunday; the second Mengel (Mangal), from that of Tuesday; and the 3rd Zenisser (Sanichar), from that of Saturday; on which days the king is accustomed to visit them respectively. In addition there is a 5th set of women's apartments, in which foreign women are brought up for the pleasure of the king; this is called the Bengālī Mahal." The author of the *Āthar-i-Akbarī* (p. 81) thinks that the BENGĀLĪ MAHAL was completed in 979 A. H. (1571 A. D.) and in support of his assertion he quotes the chronogram composed by Qāsīm Arsalān in his ode. In the circumstances it will not be unreasonable to assign about the same date (1571) to the construction of the AKBARĪ MAHAL of which it probably once formed part.

The heavy round pillar in the centre of the BENGĀLĪ BURJ (Bengālī Bastion) is a modern addition to support a gun platform above.

AKBARĪ BĀOLĪ.

Close to the Burj is situated the AKBARĪ BĀOLĪ (Akbar's chambered well) consisting of a well about 10 feet in diameter, with 5 rows of rooms round it and steps leading to the water, now green and stagnant. It was once connected with the river by means of a tunnel, now blocked up, and water was raised from it by a drum in a room adjacent to it. This must have served as a cool retreat for the Emperors during the abnormally hot days in Summer.

The area in front and south of the Jahāngirī Mahal was occupied by the Military Prison until the visit of

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales in 1905, who suggested its removal. Consequently in 1907 the Prison was removed and, after necessary repairs, the AKBARĪ MAḤAL, BENGĀLĪ BURJ and the BĀOLĪ were opened to the public.

JAHĀNGĪRĪ MAḤAL.

Adjoining the Akbarī Maḥal on the north is the palace called after Jahāngir, the JAHĀNGĪRĪ MAḤAL, which, with its quaint brackets, roofs, projecting eaves, carved panels, recesses and pillars, is a wonderful specimen of Hindū architecture (Plates II and III). As an example may be cited the fact that the true or radiating arch has not been employed. As has been rightly conjectured, the palace was originally painted throughout in gold and colours, or encrusted with stucco reliefs similarly coloured. Being very similar to the Jahāngirī Maḥal at Fatehpur Sikri it is supposed to have been erected by Akbar for his son, Jahāngir. But it is doubtful why the Emperor should at all have demolished his own palace on the south to make room for that of his son, leaving the northern portion of the Akbarī Maḥal mutilated and unsymmetrical in plan. It was probably built by Jahāngir for the Hindū princesses, particularly his Rājput wife, Jodh Bāi, and his Rājput mother, Maryam Zamāni, the relict of the Emperor Akhar.

The exact date of its erection is uncertain, but its architecture assigns it either to the latter years of Akbar's reign or to the early part of that of Jahāngir.

The Palace is about 261 feet by 288 feet externally, the western façade between the corner towers being

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about 192 feet in length. It is entered by a gateway leading by a vestibule to an entrance hall, whence a corridor goes to the principal hall. To the right of the entrance hall is a passage leading to a small separate court with a pillared hall containing a musician's gallery. A narrow courtyard with a set of rooms, probably SERVANTS' QUARTERS, runs along the back of the south wall of the central courtyard. Over the entrance hall, in the 3rd storey, is an open hall, with five pillars and brackets and with 3 openings on each side, east and west, overlooking the court.

The CENTRAL COURT, about 76 feet square, is surrounded by two-storied façades which must have looked very beautiful in their original gold and colours, only faint traces of which are now to be seen here and there.

The north side of the quadrangle is formed by a pillared hall, known as JODH BAI'S BOUDOIR, remarkable for its flat ceiling supported by 4 pairs of stone struts with serpents, one carved on each, longitudinally. The low corridor above the Boudoir was probably used by GUARDS (women and eunuchs) who in every Mughal palace were both protectors and spies.

On the west of the quadrangle is a room containing a number of oblong niches, and tradition avers that it was used as a TEMPLE by Jahāngir's wife and mother, who were Rājput princesses, and in it were kept the images of the monkey-god Hanūmān and other Hindū deities.

On the south is a smaller hall, known as JODH BAI'S DRAWING ROOM. It is surrounded on three

sides by a passage, about $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, probably intended for the attendants to overlook the occupants of the Drawing Room, if necessary, without imposing their presence on them.

On the east is a set of chambers communicating with the outer narrow courtyard on the riverside. The central entrance to it is by a vestibule supported on pillars about 17 feet in length. Saracenic feeling predominates in this porch which, in its turn, opens into a beautiful room, about $40' \times 18'$, known as the LIBRARY. A portion of the rich painting in this room was restored by the Archæological Department in January 1900 in order to give an idea of the entire original ornamentation. On the roof of the Jahāngīri Mahal there are 2 beautiful PAVILIONS, also there are a few CISTERNS which supplied water to the palace. Near one of them there are three horizontal lines in which the ENDS OF COPPER PIPES are still traceable, and over each of them is a broken circular stone label inscribed in Persian with the name of the parts of the palace to which it gave a supply.

SHĀHJAHĀNĪ MAHAL.

The SHĀHJAHĀNĪ MAHAL, or Palace of Shāh Jahān, situated on the south of the Khāṣ Mahal, comprises most of the north side of the Jahāngīri Mahal which is related to have been adapted by Emperor Shāh Jahān to his taste and requirements. It is mostly built of *lakhanuri* bricks in lime mortar with plastered walls, floors and roofs. Several of its rooms were used for museum purposes by the Archæological Society of Agra

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until 1875 when the exhibits were transferred to Allaha-had.

The palace consists of a tower gallery, two rooms on the east and west, measuring about 24 feet by 17 feet each, another one on the south, the central room and the front corridor.

TOWER GALLERY.

The TOWER GALLERY, built of red sandstone, comprises an octagon, some 28 feet wide, with another octagon in it about 20 feet wide, while above the flat roof of the Gallery is another gallery, almost similar in design, surrounded by an octagonal domed pavilion with a gilt spike. It was probably the "*Diwan* or helvedere overhanging the river" visited by Tavernier in 1640 where the king sat to see his brigantines and the fight of imperial elephants. The GALLERY was coloured with gold and azure and the floor covered with a rich carpet. Shāh Jahān had intended to decorate it further by covering the verandah with trellis of rubies and emeralds, but the scheme was found too expensive and consequently abandoned.

Several unfounded traditions go about it. Some call it the place where Shāh Jahān died while others identify it with the tower mentioned by Badāyūnī (*Muntakhabu-t-Tawārīkh*, Persian text, Vol. II, p. 257), to which a Brahmin, named Dehī, was pulled up every night upon a *chārpāi* (a bedstead) to instruct Akbar in the secrets of Hindūism and the worship of idols, etc. That these conjectures are all unhistorical becomes at once apparent as we read in the original histories

about the death of Shāh Jahān* in the Muthamman Burj and also that Badāyūnī having finished his history about 4 years before Akbar's occupation of the Fort must not have referred to this particular Gallery.

The CENTRAL ROOM, entered by an arched gateway of Saracenic design, is octagonal with apsed ends (about 16' × 20'). There are traces of floral decorations all over the roofs and walls, particularly on the dado panels which are about 4 feet in height all round. It was in this room that the Hon'ble John Russell Colvin, Lieutenant Governor of the North-West Provinces, whose tomb stands in the spacious court of the Diwān-i-Ām, died on the 9th September 1857.

GHAZNĪ GATE.

The northern front of the Shāhjahānī Maḥal has an arcaded façade of five bays, the westernmost multifoil arch of which is closed by a glass screen behind which, in the timber-roofed and plaster-floored room, stands the GHAZNĪ GATE, about 12 feet high by 9 feet wide, an interesting relic of the Afghān Expedition of 1842. It is wrongly identified with the sandalwood gate of Somnāth which is erroneously supposed to have been wrenched from the great Hindū temple in Gujrat by Mahmūd of Ghazna in 415 A. H. (1024-1025 A. D.). Being Saracenic in design, the Gate probably belonged to the tomb of Mahmūd whence it was brought by General Nott as the spoils of war after the first Afghān Expedition by order of Lord Ellenborough, then Viceroy

* For further details of Shāh Jahān's death and burial, see Muthamman Burj, pp. 22-23.

of India. It is made of *deodar* wood, elaborately carved and covered with arabesque designs and a *Kufic* inscription* invoking blessings on Sultān Mahmūd, son of Sabuktigīn. It has a number of plaques, each about 8 inches square, and bears no trace of Hindū art anywhere. It was brought to the Agra Fort on a triumphal car and kept in the *Diwān-i-‘Ām*, then walled up and used as a British armoury, for many years until 1870 when it was removed to its present position to be exhibited in the Museum of the Archaeological Society of Agra.

KHĀS MAḤAL.

The KHĀS MAḤAL (Private Palace), called "*Ārām-gāh-i-Muqaddas*" (Holy Abode of Rest) in contemporary histories, was built about the year 1637 by Shāh Jahān who must have demolished some of the buildings of his father or grand-father to make room for it (Plate IV). It was meant for the ladies of the royal *haram* and probably comprised the main marble structure with its north and south pavilions, the ANGÜRĪ BĀGH (Grape Garden), the apartments round the Grape Garden as its residential quarters, and the SHISH MAḤAL (Palace of Mirrors) as its baths. The three white marble pavilions overlooking the Jumna stand on a terrace of white marble on the east of the court, about 4 feet higher than the marble footpaths of the Angūrī Bāgh, with a tank for fountains in front of the middle one. Each of the courts attached to the north and south pavilions has along its edge a marble screen, about 8 feet high, and a similar

* *Vide Appendix, Inscription No. 2, pp. 49-50.*

slab screen between it and the central tank. The marble-paved platform measures about 112 feet by 96 feet and the superstructure about 71 feet by 27 feet (externally). The colonnade or portico, which is of the same size as the inner hall, has 5 arched openings in front and three on each side, its roof being carried on engrailed Saracenic arches springing from piers and abutments, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet square. Above the painted dado panels which are about 4 feet in height, are carved shallow recesses and painted floral designs particularly the poppy flowers. Three archways lead to the inner hall and opposite them are three windows overlooking the river. The roofs of the gallery and hall are of plain marble but, according to the *Bādshāhnāma*, they were profusely decorated and painted in gold and colours originally, and traces of them in the hall support the historical statement. At the north end of the hall roof a specimen of the original painting was restored in 1875 to give an idea as to what it was like. The walls have a number of niches which are related to have contained portraits of the Mughal Emperors beginning with Timūr, and Sūraj Mal Jāṭ of Bharatpur, who occupied Agra during the years 1761-74, is said to have carried them away. The presence of four iron rings in the roof of the hall suggests that chandeliers were hung there to light the hall and the Gallery.

THE TANK.

In the central court is the TANK (about 42'×29' externally) which has a red sandstone bed and contains five fountains and 32 jets. The zigzag inlay of

the escape channel from it, known as the "*Pusht-i-Māhi*" (Back of the fish), is particularly pleasing. The supply tanks on the roof of the Jahāngīrī Maḥal mentioned above fed the fountains and jets, but in January, 1907, on the occasion of the investiture of His Majesty Amir Ḥabībullah Khān of Afghanistan with the Order of the Bath, only the jets were found serviceable. They have since been repaired and are now played on proper occasions.

The building is uninscribed, but Havell (*Handbook to Agra*, p. 60), Nevill (*Gazetteer of the Agra District*, p. 208) and others mention a long Persian inscription on it recording the date of its erection 1636. Latif (*Agra, Historical and Descriptive*, pp. 83-85) goes a step further and gives a reading of it also which leads one to conclude that it has been evidently confused with the inscription on the *Diwān-i-Khāṣ* (vide Appendix, Inscription No. 3, pp. 50-53.)

NORTH PAVILION.

The NORTH PAVILION communicating with the Muthamman Burj on the north is built entirely of white marble. It stands on a platform, about 53'×18'×6", and comprises two rooms, about 13 feet square internally, with a central hall, about 22 feet by 18 feet externally. The hall has three entrances on the west formed by marble pillars and three similar openings on the riverside with the pillar-intervals provided with low rails. Each side room has a marble-harred window on the east, one of which, according to Keene, was of wood and replaced by the present marble one in 1907 at a cost of Rs. 289. There are

two deep recesses in each wall, and a few shallow recesses too, and it is said that Akbar used to put a jewel into one of them every morning and its finder had the luck of becoming his companion for the day. But the palace being built about 32 years after Akbar's death, the absurdity of the tradition is apparent.

The purpose of this building and the other one south of the Khāṣ Maḥal proper has so far been a mere matter of conjecture since no writer yet seems to have taken the trouble of consulting the original records of history. Mullā 'Abdu-l-Ḥamīd Lāhorī, the court chronicler of Shāh Jahān, mentions it as the residence of the Emperor's eldest daughter, Jahānārā, better known as the Begam Shāhī, who helped Dārā Shikoh against Aurangzeb in the War of Succession. She was born in 1614, built the Jāmi' Masjid (Cathedral Mosque) at Agra and died in 1681, about 15 years after the death of her loving father, and was buried at Delhi. According to the historian these quarters were profusely decorated in gold and colours and the outer roof with curved pent sides, from which spring copper-gilt spikes, was originally "covered with sheets of gold."*

SOUTH PAVILION.

The SOUTH PAVILION is almost similar to the NORTH PAVILION in dimensions and general features, except that it is built of red sandstone lightly plastered and has arcaded façades. As shown above, its assignment also is much disputed, but all conjectures come to nothing when we find that the Bādshāhnāma (Persian

* Bādshāhnāma, Persian text, Vol. I, p. 241.

text, Vol. I, p. 240) clearly calls it the "*Bangla-i-Darshan-i-Mubarak*" wherefrom the Emperor Shāh Jahān used to show himself to his subjects every day.¹ Like the NORTH PAVILION this building also was decorated and artistically painted in gold and colours and its outer roof "covered with sheets of gold (when glittering under the sun) made the people think that there were two suns."²

UNDERGROUND CHAMBERS.

To the south of the Khās Maḥal is a staircase leading to a labyrinth of UNDERGROUND CHAMBERS, in which the Emperor and the ladies of the *ḥaram* found refuge from the prickly heat of summer. In the south-east corner, near the Bengālī Burj, is situated a BĀOLĪ, a kind of well with a set of chambers around it. Nearby there are dark dungeons said to have been designed for the confinement of misbehaving slave-girls and such ladies as incurred the displeasure of the Emperor.

SHĪSH MAḤAL.

In the lower storey, at the north-east corner of the court, is the SHĪSH MAḤAL (Palace of Mirrors), entered from the south by a Saracenic archway and a marble-barred doorway. The name of the building is derived from the fact that its walls and ceilings are spangled over with tiny mirrors of irregular shape set in Moorish stucco reliefs. Many of these are missing but those still *in situ* sufficiently show the picturesque

¹ For the *Darshan* or 'Showing' ceremony, see under *Darshani Darwāza*, pp. 41-42.

² *Bādshāhnāma*, Persian text, Vol. I, p. 240.

effect when the interior of the Bath is lighted up with a torch for a nominal payment by the Archaeological peon on duty. It was built about the year 1637 and served as the baths of the Khās Maḥal. Its walls are very thick since they bear those of the Dīwān-i-Khās above.

The bath comprises two chambers, each about 38 feet by 22 feet. The inner chamber has apsed ends and a marble tank with a fountain, while there is a similar tank in the centre of the outer chamber in the east wall of which is the postern WATER GATE now closed by iron doors. These tanks are connected by a shallow channel cased in marble and the floors of both the rooms are of plaster. Originally the stucco reliefs were painted artistically in gold and colour and the chambers were floored with marble which has been torn up to present an eye-sore to so elegant a building. However, steps are now being taken by the Archaeological Department to make good the loss by paving the floors with marble as early as possible.

ANGŪRĪ BĀGH.

The rectangular court (about 220 feet by 169 feet) in front of the Khās Maḥal is occupied by the ANGŪRĪ BĀGH (Grape Garden) attached to the Khās Maḥal by Shāh Jahān about the year 1637. There is a small marble tank below the marble terrace on the east, and in the centre of the quadrangle is a marble-paved platform, about 48 feet square, from which radiate four marble-paved footpaths, about 18 feet wide. These footpaths are further encircled by red sandstone ones, forming four parterres of beds further divided into

numerous compartments by ridges of red sandstone curiously designed.

The Garden is surrounded on the north, south and west by a two-storied red sandstone building, consisting of a series of chambers some of which, probably the baths, are floored and half-panelled with white marble on the north and west sides. These chambers are self-contained, and faint traces of exquisite paintings in them and the presence of marble casing in some of them lead one to infer that the apartments were once used as RESIDENTIAL QUARTERS, not by female attendants, as the tradition avers, but probably by the ladies of the imperial *haram*.

RESIDENTIAL QUARTERS.

These RESIDENTIAL QUARTERS are supposed by some to date as far back as Akhar's time, but the presence of Shah Jahān's cusped arches and the absence of such salient architectural features as characterize Akhar's buildings, go a long way to assign their erection to Shāh Jahān. They were occupied by the civil British officers and their families who took refuge in the Fort during the Mutiny of 1857, and it was in the Anguri Bagh below that the Viceroy, Lord Minto, held a grand reception when His Majesty Haḥihullāh Khān of Afghanistan was invested with the Order of the Bath.

MUTHAMMAN BURJ.

On the west of the Khāṣ Maḥal quadrangle is a central gateway that leads outside towards the Dīwān-i-Ām, while the openings in the northern marble screen

of the North Pavilion communicate with the Muthamman Burj on the north. Wrongly translated as "Jasmine Tower or Bower" (from the word *saman* or *yāsaman*-jasmine) by European writers, the MUTHAMMAN BURJ really means "Octagonal Tower" (from the word *Thaman*-an octagon) and is situated on the place where the main wall of the Fort takes a turn outwards towards the east (Plate V). It was built by Shāh Jahān for his beloved wife Arjmand Bānū Begam, also known as Mumtāz Maḥal or the Lady of the Tāj, on the site of the marble building erected by his father Jahāngīr. Keene,¹ Havell² and others support Fergusson's view based on stylistic grounds and think that the palace was built by Jahāngīr for his favourite wife Nūr Jahān and that Mumtāz Maḥal might also have graced it for some time. But conjectures have no weight in the face of historical evidence—Mullā 'Abdu-l-Ḥamīd Lāhorī, the court chronicler of Shāh Jahān, clearly assigns its erection to Emperor Shāh Jahān and says that the site was first occupied by a small marble house erected by Akbar which was subsequently pulled down by Jahāngīr to make room for his marble building consisting of *aiwāns* on three sides, while Shāh Jahān not approving of it got it demolished and replaced by the present palace.³

PACHCHISĪ COURT.

The Muthamman Burj is two-storied. Its lower storey has a court, 44'×33', paved with marble octagons

¹ *Handbook to Agra*, p. 124 (seventh edition).

² *Handbook to Agra*, pp. 57-58.

³ *Bādshāhnāma*, Persian text, Vol. I, p. 239.

representing the board for *Pachchisi* or Indian *hackgammon*. The so-called *pachchisi* hoard is in fact an ornamental cover for the drains under it taking water out of the palace, and its unequal sides bear ample testimony to the absurdity of the supposition that it was the board on which *pachchisi* was played by the Emperor with slave-girls as living counters. The platform north of it (about 33 feet by 17 feet) is paved with 465 square marble slabs, bordered on all sides by strips of porphyry, and is enclosed on the north and east by perforated marble screens through which the ladies may have viewed the sports in the EAST ENCLOSURE below.

The hall of the Muthamman Burj (about 40' × 22', internally) has in the middle a beautifully inlaid and profusely carved SHALLOW CISTERN with a fountain in its centre, and its flat-vaulted marble roof was once well decorated in gold and colours. The octagonal room with a doorway in the centre of each side measures 18 feet wide internally, and it was here that the Emperor *Shāh Jahān* expired in 1666 with his dutiful daughter, *Jahānārā*, and a few royal ladies by his side. *Muḥammad Kāzīm* in his history of the first decade of *Aurangzeb's* reign, entitled the '*Ālamgīrnāma* (Persian text, pp. 928-934), gives a graphic account of *Shāh Jahān's* death and it will not be devoid of interest to give here a summary of it. He says that soon after the Emperor's death the Begam *Šāhīh* (*Jahānārā*) called *Khawāja Phūl* and the Fort Commandant *Ra'dandāz Khān* and charged them to send for Sayyid *Muḥammad Qanauji* and *Qāzī Qurhān* of Agra. The former was noted for his piety and learning and served *Shāh Jahān* devoutly during his confinement. They came,

and after a handsome amount of money had been given in charity for the departed soul, the corpse was removed from the Muthamman Burj to the *ainān* near it (probably the NORTH PAVILION, pp. 16-17) to be bathed and shrouded. The body was then placed in a coffin of sandalwood and conveyed by the passage leading from the Muthamman Burj to the Gate beneath it (دروازہ شیب برج) "which, though closed, was specially opened for the occasion." Thence the regular funeral procession, including Hoshdār Khān, Shubedār, and other nobles, proceeded through the Sher Hājī Gate of the Fort (now closed) and crossing the river Jumna deposited the mortal remains of the Emperor in the mortuary chamber of the Tāj beside the grave of his beloved wife, Mumtāz Maḥal.

A CORRIDOR, about 11 feet wide, runs round the sides of the octagonal room, and on the west of the court are two doorways which are generally kept locked. One of them leads to a room (about 22' × 20') and is also connected with the Shish Maḥal while the other descends by a staircase to the CABINET past the LUMINOUS STONE (سنگ روشن), which is nothing but thin marble, the luminosity being in fact due to light refracted through it. On the west of the PACHCHISI COURT is a marble paved room containing a WATERFALL and a shallow cistern and might have been well used as a cool dormitory during the hot days of summer.

The building was originally inlaid with precious stones which were carried away by the Jāts during their occupation of Agra (1761-74), but at the instance of

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Lords Mayo and Northbrook passable imitations were skilfully inserted to restore it as much as possible to its former grandeur.

MĪNĀ MASJID.

The visitor will now go up to the Dīwān-i-Khāṣ and the throne terrace passing by a small marble mosque on the left squeezed in amongst the buildings. It is known as the MĪNĀ MASJID, or Gem Mosque. Being so plainly made it consists of a court, about 22 feet square, paved with alternate squares of marble and jasper, and a prayer chamber, about 22' × 13', with a small window in the north wall overlooking the Machchhī Bhawan.

The history of its erection is obscure, but its close proximity to the imperial *zanana* palaces suggests that it was meant for the Emperor and the royal ladies. Probably Shāh Jahān, when interned, offered his prayers here rather than in the NAGĪNA MASJID because it was impolitic to allow him to go much beyond the female quarters to offer his daily prayers. The local tradition that it was built by Aurangzeb for his interned father Shāh Jahān is plausible although it is not supported by any history or travel of that period.

STRACHEY TABLET AND DĪWĀN-I-KHĀṢ.

Going northward through the archway and passing by the STRACHEY TABLET on the right, the visitor will reach a structure of white marble known as the DĪWĀN-I-KHĀṢ, or Hall of Private Audience, mentioned in Persian histories as the GHUSLKHĀNA (Bath). As shown above, it stands over the Shish

Mahal on a well carved plinth, about three feet high, and is entered from the THRONE TERRACE by two steps. It comprises an outer hall (about 73'×33', externally) and an inner hall (about 40'×26', internally) connected with each other by three archways. The outer hall has a flat roof carried on Saracenic arches springing from slender pillars, and above the multi-foil arches facing the terrace are iron rings for awnings. On the outer north face is a SHOT-HOLE which indicates a bombardment of the Fort, and along the frieze of the outer porch, at a height of about 20 feet from the floor, is a Persian inscription* inscribed in black marble in *Nast'liq* assigning its erection to *Shāh Jahān* in 1046 A. H. (1636-37 A. D.). The walls are made of red sandstone covered over with white marble, and exquisite carving and inlay work in floral patterns display the idea of Persian love for flowers.

The *DIWĀN-I-KHĀS*, unlike the *Diwān-i-'Ām* (Hall of Public Audience), was used by the Emperors exclusively for the reception of kings, ambassadors and nobles in private audience, and for the transaction of the most important affairs of State by the help of their councils. The *Umarās* were compulsorily required to present themselves here every morning and evening or something of their pay was retrenched. In the reign of *Shāh Jahān* the hall contained a beautiful small throne studded with jewels which was replaced in Aurangzeb's time by the throne presented by *Alī Mardān Khān* which, according to the *'Alamgīrnāma* (Persian text, p. 429), could not be finished before the

* *Vide* Appendix, Inscription No. (3), pp. 50-53.

imprisonment of the former for whom it was really designed.

On the occasion of the investiture of His Majesty Amir Hahibullāh Khān of Afghanistan with the Order of the Bath in January 1907 the building was specially decorated and brilliantly illuminated and it served as a supper room for the royal guest. In front of it a colonnade was erected and the Muthamman Burj below was connected with it by means of a temporary staircase that looked like marble.

TAHKHĀNA.

The *Bādshāhnāma* (Persian text, Vol. I, p. 238) mentions a *tahkhāna* (under-ground cell) under the Dīwān-i-Khāṣ, "the walls of which are well polished and sparingly painted in gold and colours. It consists of two cisterns—one is fed by a waterfall and the other bigger in dimensions, is connected with it by a channel which conveys water to it from the former. The courtyard (i.e., the Throne Terrace) attached to the *aiwān* is about 41 yards long by 29 yards broad, and under this are the chambers in which *ashrafīs* (gold mohars) are stored."

THRONE TERRACE.

The THRONE TERRACE, about 116 feet by 82 feet, in front of the Dīwān-i-Khāṣ is really the roof of the rooms forming the east wing of the Machchhi Bhawan. It contains two thrones—one of white marble on the west overlooking the Machchhi Bhawan court

below and the other of *Sang-i-Mahak*, or touchstone,¹ on the east overlooking the river Jumna.

WHITE MARBLE THRONE.

The WHITE MARBLE THRONE, originally enclosed by a rail, traces of which still exist, was never the seat of the court jester as Keene (*Handbook to Agra*, p. 121) and others have conjectured, but, according to Mullā 'Ahdu-l-Hamīd Lāhorī², it was used by the Emperor Shāh Jahān himself during the summer evenings and nights. It is a rectangular alah supported on four marble legs not carved out of a single block, and stands on a platform of white marble, about 15 inches high.

BLACK MARBLE THRONE.

The BLACK MARBLE THRONE, carved out entire, with its four legs, of a single block, stands on a platform of white marble, about 15 inches high, with a low marble lattice rail on the east. It bears three inscriptions³ which lead one to conclude that it was used by Prince Salim (afterwards Emperor Jahāngīr) during the time he rebelled against his father Akbar and held his court at Allahabad from where it was subsequently brought to Agra and placed in its present position.

On the north of it is a crack which was probably caused by a cannon ball during the siege of the Fort by

¹ In all the guide-books I have seen the stone is named 'Black slate', while the court history of Shāh Jahān calls it '*Sang-i-Mahak*' or touchstone, cf. *Bādshāhnāma*, Persian text, Vol. I, p. 238.

² *Bādshāhnāma*, Persian text, Vol. I, p. 238.

³ For inscription and further discussion on the Throne, vide Appendix, Inscription No. 4. pp. 53-55.

Monsieur Perron, commander of Sindia's regular troops, or later by Lord Lake in 1803, and the presence of red stains on it suggests that the throne stone possesses a certain amount of red peroxide of iron although the tradition holds that blood spurted out of the throne when the Jāt ruler Jawāhir Singh of Bharatpnr profaned it by setting his impious feet on it in 1765.

ḤAMMĀM-I-SHĀHĪ.

The ḤAMMĀM-I-SHĀHĪ (King's Bath) is connected with the THRONE TERRACE on the north and is also accessible from the Machchhī Bhawan court below. It consists of a set of vaulted rooms containing the haths. The walls are made of *lakhauri* bricks and lime coated with stucco which bears faint traces of beautiful floral decoration. On the west there are traces of furnaces in the long corridor, and lately a few channels for heating the haths have been discovered by excavation. 'Abdu-l-Ḥamid Lāhorī describes it as having been exquisitely inlaid and decorated, both internally and externally, and mentions in the middle of the *Ḥammām* a large cistern supplied with fountains on all sides. Since these details have not been given in any of the guide-books it will be interesting to quote the historian to give an idea of the original beauty of the building. "The hot hath and cold hath", says he "are so fitted with the mirrors of Ḥalab¹ that the river-bed and the gardens described above are reflected on them. The niches and doors of the *Ḥammām* have also been supplied with the mirrors of Ḥalab, thus adding to the general decoration of the building."²

¹ The modern Aleppo in Syria famous for mirrors.

² *Bādshāhnāma*, Persian text, Vol. I, p. 239.

In the Taj Museum at Agra a few old drawings of the Agra Fort have been preserved which show that a marble gallery with an arcade on each of its three sides once stood on the south of the *Hammām*; but no trace of it now exists since it was demolished by order of Lord William Bentinck, then Governor-General of India, and its fragments sold by auction. Col. Sleeman, in his *Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official* (Vol. II, published in 1844, pp. 36-37), accuses two Governors-General of India, viz., Marquis of Hastings and Lord William Bentinck, of such vandalism, and he closes his remarks with the words ".....Had these things fetched the price expected, it is probable that the whole of the palace, and even the Tāj itself, would have been pulled down, and sold in the same manner."

NAGĪNA MASJID.

The NAGĪNA MASJID (Gem Mosque), built purely of white marble, is entered from the *Machchhī Bhawan* by a doorway on the south. It comprises a marble-paved court, surrounded by walls on the north, south and east sides, and a prayer chamber which is a three-domed marble structure, with a marble-paved court on the right and left. The courts are inlaid with prayer spaces, and at the further end is a small chamber overlooking the *Dīwān-i-Ām* court, erroneously pointed out by the guides as the place of *Shāh Jahān's* confinement erected by his son Aurangzeb. They have invented many silly tales to narrate in this connection, but they can be safely ignored since there is sufficient historical evidence to show that *Shāh Jahān* was never

like ordinary prisoners, closely imprisoned but simply confined to certain parts of the palace.

The question as to who built the Nagina Masjid is open to criticism. Original histories are silent on this point, but Keene (*Handbook to Agra*, p. 9) and all other authors of guide-books think that it was built by Aurangzeb for the use of the ladies of the *zanāna* and possibly for his interned father Shāh Jahān also because it was impolitic to allow him to offer his prayers with the public in the Moti Masjid. But the Machchhi Bhawan (described *post*) and the Dīwān-i-Khās being accessible to *Umarās*, ambassadors, etc., even at the prayer times,* e.g., in the afternoon and evening, it cannot be believed that the royal *parda-nashīn* ladies or the interned Emperor could have been allowed to go to the Nagina Mosque, so far from the private female apartments, through the unscreened corridors. Although inferior in design, it is somewhat similar to the Moti Masjid in respect of its cnsped arches and other minor details and I am inclined to assign its erection to Shāh Jahān for the use of his nobles, etc., who met him in the Dīwān-i-Khās in the evening *darbārs*.

ZANĀNA MĪNĀ BĀZĀR.

From the courtyard of the Nagina Masjid a doorway leads into a small room containing arrangements for

* It is enjoined on the Muslims to pray five times a day. The times of prayers are (1). *Fajr*, or early morning; *Zuhr*, or a little after mid-day till the shadow cast by a perpendicular stick exceeds the double of it by one-seventh; *Asr*, or afternoon, beginning after the *Zuhr* and terminating a little before sun-set; *Maghrib*, or sunset, lasting till it becomes dark; *Ishā*, from immediately after the *Maghrib* till dawn.

heating water, and from there another doorway leads into the marble balcony overlooking the so-called ZANĀNA MINĀ BĀZĀR below. How this identification has come to be universally accepted by all the modern writers cannot be imagined. The arrangement of the buildings in this block suggests that the principal entrance to the Machchhī Bhawan was the Gateway on the north wherein the famous Chitor Gate (described *post*) is placed, and the so-called Zanāna Minā Bāzār (Female Handicraft Bazar) was probably the APPROACH ROAD to the Machchhī Bhawan, while the arcades might have been used by the sentinels on guard duty.

There is no doubt that the Zanāna Minā Bāzār (Female Handicraft Bazar) existed in the time of the Mughals, but the building where they were actually held has either disappeared or it may be identified with the Machchhī Bhawan which with its surrounding arcades and an entrance on the south connecting it with the zanāna apartments (Khās Maḥal), might well have been used annually for the purpose. From Ahu-l-Faḥl and others we learn a graphic account of these bazars. It was on the occasion of *Nauroz* (New Year's Day)*, or *Khush Roz* (Joyful Day) as Akbar himself calls it, fancy bazars were held to which the wives and daughters of nobles and vassals were invited

* The Persian festival of *Nauroz* was celebrated by the *Mughals* on the 21st March when the sun enters the sign of Aries. It was subsequently stopped by Emperor Aurangzeb as it had come to be regarded as a holy festival like the *Idu-l-Fitr*. He replaced it by another festival, called the *Jashn-i-Jahānāroz*, to be held in the month of *Ramāḥān* which was also the month of his accession (Cf. *Alamgīrnāma*, Persian text, pp. 389-91).

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to act as traders and the Emperor with the Begams would bargain with them in the typical eastern *bazār* fashion and finally dismiss them with rich presents.

CHITOR GATES.

The CHITOR GATES, 11 feet wide, are made of bronze and were brought to Agra by Akhar after the fall of the fortress of Chitor in 1567-68. Akhar's conquest of Chitor, then held by Rājā Udai Singh, son of the illustrious Rānā Sāngā, conduced greatly to the pacification of Rājputāna.

MACHCHHĪ BHAWAN.

The MACHCHHĪ BHAWAN (Fish Palace) stands at the back of the Dīwān-i-ʿĀm and has a spacious court, about 164' × 132', around which on a plinth, about 1' 6" high, stands a series of flat-roofed chambers enclosed in front by a Saracenic arcade. A flat-roofed gallery with red sandstone floors and Saracenic arcades in front runs round the upper storcy on a level with the Dīwān-i-ʿĀm, Dīwān-i-Khāṣ and the Nagina Masjid. It is connected with the Angūrī Bāgh by an arched entrance at the west end of the south arcade, and from the south-east corner of the court a staircase ascends to the colonnade above near the Minā Masjid. The guide-books say nothing about the real purpose of the building* with the MARBLE BALCONY on the south, except that the Fish Palace was originally adorned

* Regarding its probable identification with the building where Ladies' Fancy Bazaars were held on New Year's Day, please see *ante* under 'Zanāna Minā Bāzār', pp. 30-32.

with marble fountains and tanks in which gold and silver fishes were stored for the amusement of the Emperor. But the *Bādshāhnāma* (Persian text, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 238) calls it the store-room for the imperial ornaments and precious jewels and says that in the Marble Balcony was placed the *Aurang-i-Zarrīn* or Golden Throne on which the Emperor sat and enjoyed the magnificent sight of the court below.

The *Machchhī Bhawan*, on the whole, is a good specimen of pure Saracenic art of Shāh Jahān's time although it is also assigned by some to Akbar. It has suffered considerably from ruthless vandalism of the Jats of Bharatpur who occupied Agra during the years 1761-74 and it is now difficult to imagine its original grandeur.

MANDIR RĀJA RATAN.

East of the Approach Road to the Machchhī Bhawan and accessible from it stands the MANDIR RĀJA RATAN (Temple of Rāja Ratan) in a quadrangle surrounded by Saracenic arcades. Traditionally so called, it was probably the residence of Rāja Ratan, the *faujdar* (general) of Mahārāja Prithī Indra,¹ built in 1768 during the Jāt occupation of the Agra Fort. The building, Saracenic in design, seems to have been adapted to his requirements by Rāja Ratan whose name appears in the inscription² over the south arcade.

Rāja Ratan was a son of Sūraj Mal Jāt of Bharatpur. He succeeded his elder brother, Mahārāja Jawābir

¹ For my observation on Mahārāja Prithī Indra, please see *Appendix*, Inscription No. 5, note 2, p. 56.

² For the inscription, *vide Appendix*, Inscription No. 5, pp. 55-57.

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Singh, when the latter was murdered in May 1768, but after a short reign he was himself stabbed in April 1769 by a beggar, named Rūpananda. The assassin is related to have pretended to teach alchemy (الكيمياء), or the art of transmuting copper into gold, to Rāja Ratan who was suspected of having been accessory to Jawāhir Singh's murder.

DIWĀN-I-'ĀM.

Returning from the Temple and leaving the so-called Zanāna Minā Bāzār on the left, the visitor comes to an open enclosure (about 500' × 370'), known as the DIWĀN-I-'ĀM COURT. It is entered on the north and south by majestic arched gateways of red sandstone, the former being the AKBARĪ DARWĀZA, mentioned by Finch, where ambassadors, ministers, grandees of the highest dignity and, in fact, all but the king and his children alighted to enter the Diwān-i-'Ām (Hall of Public Audience) on the east. It is surrounded on the north, south and west by a brick wall against which stands a row of arcaded cloisters "wherein", as Finch observes, "his (Emperor's) captains, according to their degrees, keep their seventh day *chockees* (*chawkīs*)."^{*} A little further you enter within a rayle, into a more inward court, within which none but the king's *addīs* (*aḥādīs*) and men of sort were admitted under pains of smacking by the porters' cudgels, which lay on hand

^{*} Bernier says that the *Umarās* mounted guard in their weekly turns inside the Fort (at Delhi) while the *Rājas* who were equal to the Muhammadan *Umarās* in rank performed the same guard duty in a square outside the fort since they would not endure the idea of being confined within the fort walls.

without respect of persons." The roofs of these arcades are flat, and from the top of the roof on the north and west, it is said, the public once enjoyed the sight of state functions performed in the *Dīwān-i-‘Ām*. The spacious court was the imperial tilt-yard and within it is a *bāoli*, or chambered well, about 80 feet deep and about 26 feet in diameter, which in 1905-06 was repaired and supplied by a pump worked by an oil engine. In the brick-on-edge paved court in front of the Audience Hall stands the TOMB OF THE HON'BLE J. R. COLVIN, Lieutenant Governor of the North-West Provinces,* who died on the 9th September, 1857 in the central room of the *Shāh Jahānī Maḥal*, Agra Fort.

A flight of six steps leads to the *Dīwān-i-‘Ām* proper (about 201'×67'), which is a pillared hall open on three sides and standing on a plinth, about 4 feet high. The floor and roof are of red sandstone and the latter is supported by three aisles of nine bays each. The hall, locally known as MAḤAL *CHIHAI* SUTŪN, or Forty-pillared Palace, is built of red sandstone plastered with fine white marble stucco which is artistically gilded. There is a triple row of colonnades, the outer ones, two on each side and eight in front, being double while those at each corner quadruple (Plate VI).

The hall is hacked on the east by a wall in the middle of which is the THRONE ROOM, an alcove of inlaid marble with a highly ornate façade. The *pietra dura* work of this recess is fine but not so exquisite as in

* For the inscription on it see Appendix, Inscription No. 6., p. 57.

the Throne Gallery in the Delhi Fort. It is connected with the Machchhi Bhawan on the east, while from the Audience Hall a flight of steps leads to the Machchhi Bhawan and further on to the palaces whence the royal ladies are said to have come occasionally to view the ceremonials of the Dīwān-i-ʿĀm through the perforated MARBLE WINDOWS on the right and left of the alcove. In this Throne Room the Emperor sat every day on his throne, entitled Takht-i-Murassa* to give public audience to his subjects and to administer justice. Below it, in front, is a large four-legged marble dais, 1'8" high, related to have been originally fenced with a silver railing. Locally known as the Baiṭhak, it is said to have been used by the Wazīr when presenting petitions to the Emperor seated under the "balda-chino" above. The railed space was reserved for the highest grandees of the Empire and the remainder of the hall for yet another rank of nobles. The enclosure outside the pillared hall, like the Gulāl Bārī (Red Enclosure) of the Delhi Fort, was meant for minor officials while the public attending the darbar stood beyond it. The Audience Hall was used for all state functions and in its court the aḥādīs (exempts of the guard) paraded in full armour while led horses richly caparisoned were arrayed further on to contribute towards the grandeur of the Mughal darbār.

CEREMONIES OF THE COURT.

The French traveller, Bernier, who was for some time attached to Aurangzeb's court as a physician, has

* Bādshahnāma, Persian text, Vol. I, p. 235. This throne must not be confounded with the one presented to Aurangzeb by 'All Mardān Khān, *vide infra*, p. 25.

left a glowing account of the *Diwān-i-‘Ām* proceedings which, though really associated with the Delhi Fort, will effectively picture the *darbār* ceremonials under the Mughals.*

"The Monarch," says he, "every day, about noon, sits upon his throne, with some of his sons at his right and left; while eunuchs standing about the royal person flap away flies with peacocks' tails, agitate the air with large fans, or wait with undivided attention and profound humility to perform the different services allotted to each. Immediately under the throne is an enclosure, surrounded by silver rails, in which are assembled the whole body of *Omrahs*, the *Rajas*, and the Ambassadors, all standing, their eyes bent downward and their hands crossed. At a greater distance from the throne are the *Mansebdars* or inferior *Omrahs*, also standing in the same position of profound reverence. The remainder of the spacious room, and indeed the whole courtyard, is filled with persons of all ranks, high and low, rich and poor; because it is in this extensive hall that the king gives audience indiscriminately to all his subjects; hence it is called *Am-Kas*, or audience-chamber of high and low.

"During the hour and a half, or two hours, that this ceremony (the *darbār*) continues, a certain number of the royal horses pass before the throne, that the king may see whether they are well used and in a proper condition. The elephants come next, their filthy hides having been well washed and painted as black as ink, with two large red streaks from the top of the head down

* Bernier's *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, pp. 261-3.

to the trunk, where they meet. The elephants are covered with embroidered cloth; a couple of silver bells are suspended to the two ends of a massive silver chain placed over their back, and white cow-tails from Great Tibet, of large value, hang from the ears like immense whiskers. Two small elephants, superbly caparisoned, walk close to these colossal creatures, like slaves appointed to their service. As if proud of his gorgeous attire and of the magnificence that surrounds him, every elephant moves with solemn dignified step; and when in front of the throne, the driver, who is seated on his shoulder, pricks him with a pointed iron, animates and speaks to him, until the animal bends one knee, lifts his trunk on high and roars aloud, which the people consider as the elephant's mode of performing the *taslim* or usual reverence.

"Other animals are next introduced;—tame antelopes kept for the purpose of fighting with each other; *Nilgaur*, or grey oxen, that appear to me to be a species of elk; rhinoceroses; large Bengale buffaloes with prodigious horns which enable them to contend against lions and tigers; tame leopards, or panthers, employed in hunting antelopes; some of the fine sporting dogs from *Uzbek*, of every kind, and each dog with a small red covering; lastly, every species of the birds of prey used in the sports for catching partridges, cranes, hares and even, it is said, for hunting antelopes, on which they pounce with violence, beating their heads and blinding them with their wings and claws.

"Besides this procession of animals, the cavalry of one or two *Omrahs* frequently pass in review before the

king; the horsemen, being better dressed than usual, the horses furnished with iron armour, and decorated with an endless variety of fantastic trappings.

"The king takes pleasure also in having the blades of cutlasses tried on dead sheep, brought before him without the entrails and neatly hound up. Young *Omrahs*, *Mansebdars*, and *Gourze-berdars*, or mace-bearers, exercise their skill, and put forth all their strength to cut through the four feet, which are fastened together, and the body of sheep at one blow.

"But all these things are so many interludes to more serious matters. The king not only reviews his cavalry with particular attention, but there is not, since the war has been ended, a single trooper or other soldier whom he has not inspected, and made himself personally acquainted with, increasing or reducing the pay of some, and dismissing others from the service. All the petitions, held up in the crowd assembled in the *Am-Kas* (the *Dīwān-i-'Ām*) are brought to the king and read in his hearing; and the persons concerned being ordered to approach are examined by the Monarch himself who often redresses on the spot the wrongs of the aggrieved party."

The question as to who built the *Dīwān-i-'Ām* has involved a great deal of controversy. Some assign its erection to Akhar or Jahāngīr and others to Aurang-zeh, while it is also argued by some that the original *Dīwān-i-'Ām* of Akhar was slightly altered and adapted to his taste by *Shāh Jahān*. But the salient features and, above all, the charm and grace that characterize *Shāh Jahān's* buildings, so different from those of his

father and grandfather, being traceable in the *Diwān-i-‘Ām*, I am inclined to include it among his buildings.* Under British rule it was adapted to the requirements of an armoury and was used as such till the year 1870, after which extensive restorations were effected to it from time to time to bring it to its original condition. It was here that the stately function was held on the 12th January, 1907 when His Majesty Amīr Sir Ḥabīb-ullāh Khān of Afghanistan was invested with the Order of the Bath by special warrant from the King-Emperor.

MINĀ BĀZĀR.

The roadway from the Amar Singh Gate on the south traverses the great *Diwān-i-‘Ām* Court and enters the MINĀ BĀZĀR (Handicraft Bazar) by the Akbarī Darwāza (described *ante*, p. 34). This *bāzār* was an old time mart dating from the time of Emperor Akbar. The rows of open shops around it, lately used as godowns for Military stores, were once occupied by traders of all countries doing a thriving business with the Emperor and his nobles in jewellery, silks, embroideries, etc. The *Āin-i-Akbarī* says that after the fancy bazars

* Fortunately I have been able to find out an historical piece of evidence in support of my views. Mullā ‘Abdu-l-Ḥamid Lāhorī’s statement in the *Bādshāhnāma* (Persian text, Vol. I, pp. 235-36) is decidedly final. He says that in the time of Akbar and Jahāngir and also in the early part of Shāh Jahān’s reign, the *darbār* was held under an awning (*Diwān-i-Pārcha*) set up in front of the *Jharoka-i-Dawlat Khāna-i-Khās-o-‘Ām* (Throne Room of the *Diwān-i-‘Ām*) supported on a wooden structure; but since it did not make a suitable adjunct to so elegant and magnificent buildings it was replaced by a building of red sandstone coated with white marble plaster. He further assigns to Shāh Jahān the erection of the marble Throne Room the ceiling of which was once so beautifully gilded.

for women these hazars were held for men when the Emperor watched the transactions in person and heard the grievances of tradesmen.

From here the road turns eastward and leaving the Moti Masjid on the left descends past the remains of a ruined palace through the DARSHANĪ DARWĀZA right to the EAST ENCLOSURE. The dilapidated palace, the Darshanī Darwāza and the East Enclosure were probahly built by Akhar between tho years 1565-73.

DARSHANĪ DARWĀZA.

The *darshan* or 'showing' ceremony was ever considered important by the early Mughal emperors and we read of Aurangzch insisting on being carried to the *jharoka* (window) even when hed-ridden so as to convince his devoted subjects that he was alive rather than omit the daily observance of the *darshan* and run the risk of a disturbance. An amusing anecdote is recorded in Gulbadan's *Humāyūn Nāma* (Persian text, p. 25) regarding the concealment of Bābur's death for fear of an insurrection, by dressing a man in red and letting him appear before the people to proclaim that the Emperor was not dead hut had turned a dervish and resigned his throne in favour of his son, Humāyūn. The proclamation had the desired effect and the critical situation was saved.

Finch says that from the DARSHANĪ DARWĀZA the Emperor showed himself every morning at sunrise and viewed his nobles and common subjects doing

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bim bomage (*taslim**) on the plain below. He also sat there every noon, except on Sunday, to see the fight of beasts and the execution of condemned criminals. The practice of *taslim* was subsequently stopped by the Puritan Emperor, Aurangzeb.

EAST ENCLOSURE.

The EAST ENCLOSURE which, as remarked above, is related to have once been a beautiful little garden, came to be used as a bazar in 1857 by those who took shelter in the Fort during the Mutiny.

MOTI MASJID.

The MOTI MASJID (Pearl Mosque) is a chaste structure of white marble (Plate VII) situated on a high ground sloping from west to east, and commands a good view of the imperial buildings. The plinth is of red sandstone, and on the north, east and south is a row of vaulted chambers all round with a gallery above, which again is underneath the cloisters surrounding the main court. It is entered on the east by a gate-

* The *Ain-i-Akbari* (Persian text, Vol. I, p. 156) describes the salutation called *taslim* as consisting in bowing so low as to place the back of the right hand on the ground and then raise it slowly till the person performing it stands erect, when he lays the palm of his hand upon the crown of his head and thereby shows that he is prepared to give himself as an offering. Bernier mentions that an *Amir* had to perform the *taslim* thrice with his face towards the royal apartment when meals were supplied to him from the Emperor during his weekly duty hours.

way reached by two flights of steps, while the north and south walls are pierced by an entrance connected by stone steps with the archway opening into the marble court. From outside it presents a severe aspect and its walls (about $243' \times 187'$, externally) are sparingly decorated. The main court (about $154' \times 158'$) is paved with white marble and, in the centre, it has a marble ablution tank (about $37' 7''$ square) and near the south-east corner on a raised columnal platform a MARBLE SUN-DIAL. The courtyard is surrounded on the north, east and south by a series of arcaded cloisters, about 11 feet deep. The west side is, as usual, occupied by the marble-paved prayer chamber, about 159 feet long by 56 feet deep, surmounted by three graceful marble domes resting on a triple row of pillars which in all distant views, in the eloquent words of Bayard Taylor, "are seen like silvery bubbles which have rested a moment on its walls, and which the west breeze will sweep away." The panels in the western wall are sculptured and the floor of the mosque proper is laid with prayer spaces (*muṣallās*) bordered by strips of light yellow marble, and this is the only part of the mosque where colour is used. On either side are the screens of white marble lattice-work behind which are the marble-paved chambers probably for the use of the female worshippers. At each corner of the prayer chamber is an octagonal tower crowned by a marble cupola, while the outer building also has the same sort of towers at the north-east and south-east corners. The entablature over the front row of arches bears a long Persian inscription in *Nasta'liq* inlaid in black slate recording the erection of the mosque by Shāh Jahān in seven years time (1648-55)

at a cost of three lakhs of rupees.* The building is a good specimen of pure Saracenic art and, besides its severe simplicity, the graceful and well-proportioned domes and intersections of engrailed arches and groined vaults are particularly pleasant features. It was used as a hospital during the Mntiny.

The road from the Minā Bāzār further leads to the Delhi Gate leaving the Darshani Darwāza on the right and the Motī Masjid on the left, but it has been closed since the separation of the Archæological Area from the Military Area of the Agra Fort. Along this road close to the Motī Masjid is an old building with a curved roof, known as THEKEDĀR-KĀ-MAKĀN (Contractor's House). It is made of red sandstone and has been converted into military officers' quarters.

DELHI GATE OR HĀTHĪ POL.

The DELHI GATE, also known as HĀTHĪ POL (Elephant Gate), has already been partly described in connection with the history of the construction of the Agra Fort (Platc I). It is reached by crossing a wooden drawhridge and passing through the outer gate along a

* For inscription, see Appendix, Inscription No. 7, pp. 57-61. The costs of buildings mentioned in inscriptions or original historical works need comment. The recorded expenditure on the Taj is 50 lakhs of rupees, on the Jāmi' Masjid at Agra 5 lakhs and on Akbar's tomb at Sikandra 15 lakhs. These sums are evidently too small for such magnificent edifices. They would hardly suffice to cover the cost of labour in our days and cannot be reasonably supposed to include the price of material used in the construction. Admitting that the labour, both skilled and unskilled, was then cheap, (vide also *Āin-i-Akbari*, Persian text, Vol. I, p. 170), the amounts specified seem to have been expended on the wages of workmen, etc. and on miscellaneous petty charges, but not on the acquisition of the marble and semi-precious stones used for inlay.

paved ascent, and gives access to the military area of the Fort. It is a massive structure flanked on either side by two huge octagonal towers beautifully inlaid with white marble and surrounded by two domed cúpolas near which rises the British flagstaff bearing the Union Jack. Outside the gateway, on either side of it, are the platforms on which once stood the two great red sandstone elephants with their stone riders commonly believed to have been put there by Akbar to commemorate his capture of Chitor in 1568 and to perpetuate the memory of his vanquished Rājput adversaries, Jaimal and Pattā. The identification of these colossal statues has been much disputed. Some hold the view mentioned above while others think that the elephant statues that once stood at the Hāthi Pol in the Delhi Fort and the mutilated fragments of which are now exhibited in the verandah of the Delhi Museum of Archæology, were no other than those erected by Akbar at Agra and subsequently removed to Delhi after the visit of Finch in 1612. But it must not be lost sight of that in Rājputāna, in general, and in several other places, in particular, it has ever been considered auspicious and grand to decorate the front of the palaces, fortresses and even ordinary houses with the figures of elephants with their riders, sculptured or painted, and perhaps this was the motive of the Emperor in their erection which obviates the necessity of tracing their connection with those of the Delhi Fort.

CHAPELS.

Behind the Delhi Gate are two rooms now used as CHAPELS—Church of England on the north and

Roman Catholic on the south. On the east end wall of a guardhouse on the right hand under the gateway is a Persian inscription in embossed *Nasta'liq* characters, partly obliterated, recording the date 1008 A. H. (1599-1600 A. D.) which leads one to suppose that the Delhi Gate was added by Akbar after he had abandoned Fatehpur Sikri to occupy the Agra Fort. Underneath is another inscription in commemoration of Jahāngir's accession in 1014 A. H. (1605 A. D.).¹

TOMB OF JANGI SAIYID.

The TOMB OF JANGI SAIYID, situated at the head of the inner ditch, is reached by passing through a doorway at the north end of the left arcade of the Delhi Gate and then descending steps leading from the rampart to the enclosure below. It has no architectural pretensions, being made simply of brick and plaster. It is said to have existed there even before the construction of the Agra Fort.

TIRPOLIA.

Outside the Delhi Gate was an octagonal enclosure, known in history as the TIRPOLIA. It is said to date as far back as the time of Shāh Jahān when it was used as a "Big Bazar" (بازار کلاں),² the shops being on all sides except along the moat. Tradition avers that it contained a *baradari* in which the royal music was played at appointed hours, but no trace of

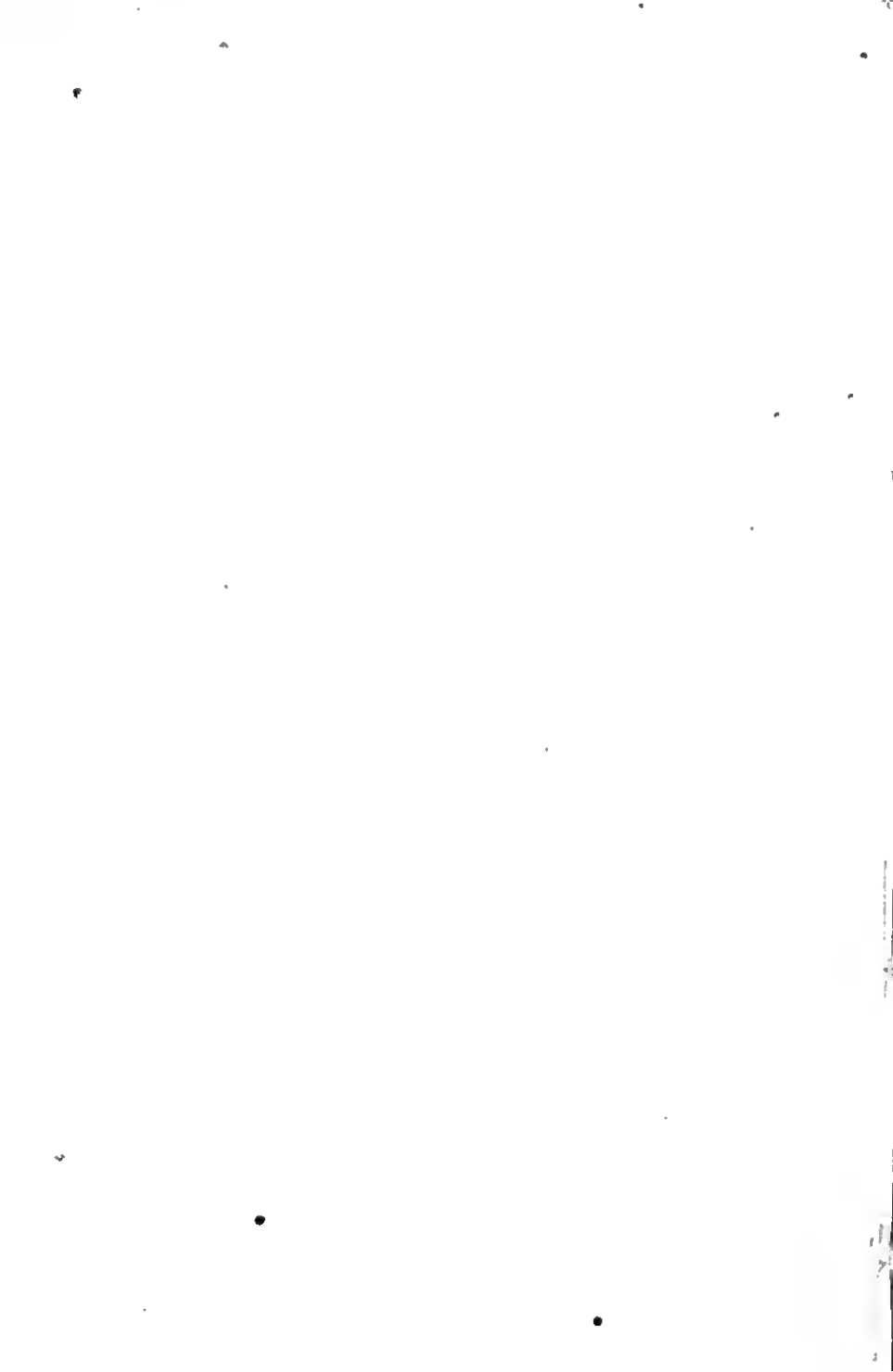
¹ For inscriptions, *vide* Appendix, Inscriptions Nos. 8 and 9, pp. 61-62.

² *Bāda'ī Anāma*, Persian text, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 252.

a building is to be found now, the northern portion of the area being evidently occupied by the railway authorities.

STONE STATUE OF A HORSE.

On the west of the Amar Singh Gate is a STONE HORSE only the head and neck of which is visible over the glacis of the Fort. Its history is obscure, but it probably marks the grave of a favourite horse of the Mughal period. It is commonly believed that when Amar Singh Rāthor, Mahārāja of Jodhpur, was killed in the presence of the Emperor Shāh Jahān in 1644 (*vide* Amar Singh Gate, p. 5), his noble horse rushed wildly from the fray and while leaping from the rampart across the moat prayed to be turned into stone to serve as a memorial of its grief for the murder of its master. Its workmanship is much inferior to that of the life-size statue of Akbar's Arsh Stallion at Sikandra and it has been discovered that the hurried part is rough and only 1 ft. 6 in. below the surface of the glacis.



APPENDIX.

Inscriptions in the Agra Fort.

- . INSCRIPTION NO. 1. On the outer face of the Hauz-i-Jahāngīrī (Jahāngīr's Bath) along the edge.

(۱) پناه ملک و دین شاه جهانگیر ابن شاه اکبر

شهنشاه که از تدبیر او

(۲) طلب کردند چرون از خضر [سال] از خرد گفتا

نهان شد از خجالت ز [مزم از حو] ض جهانگیر

Translation.

(1) "The defender of the State and religion, king Jahāngīr, son of the king Akbar, an emperor of whose wisdom,

(2) "When *Khizr*¹ was enquired of (the date of) its erection, wisdom said, '(The zamzam)² being put to shame by the cistern of Jahāngīr concealed (itself).'"

INSCRIPTION NO. 2. (*Kūfic*). On the Ghaznī Gate.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ غُفْرَانٍ مِنَ اللَّهِ لِلْأَمِيرِ الْأَجَلِّ

السَّيِّدِ الْمَلِكِ الْمُؤْتَدِ الْأَمِيرِ الدَّوْلَةِ وَأَمِيرِ الْمَلَّةِ أَبِي الْقَاسِمِ

محمود بن سُبُكْتِكِينِ رَحْمَةُ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ وَلَوْ رَحِمَهُ لَهُ

¹ *Khizr* is the prophet who is supposed to guide travellers when they lose their way and go astray, particularly in deserts.

² Also known as Hagar's well, is a well at Mecca held sacred by the Muslims.

Translation.

"In the name of the Merciful, the Compassionate. Forgiveness be from God for the most glorious Amīr, the born chief of the kings, Lord of the State and the Lord of Faith, Ahu-l-Qāsim Maḥmūd, son of Sabuktigin, May the mercy of God be on him? And if He shows him mercy, it will be (good) for him."

INSCRIPTION NO. 3. Along the frieze of the outer porch of the *Diwān-i Khāq*. (Composed by Mirzā Tālih Kalim, the post-laureate of *Shāh Jahān*).

(۱) ازین دلکشا قصر عالی بنا (عثمان)

سر اکبرآباد شد عرش سا

(۲) بود کنگرش از جبین سپهر

فدایان چون دندان سبین سپهر

(۳) سجود در این سوره سرور

کند سر نوشت بد از جبه دور

(۴) شرافت یک آیه در شان از (ابوبکر)

سعادت در آغوش الوان از

(۵) ره جور از پیش ر کم بسته است

بزنجیر عدلش ستم بسته است

(۶) بنام بزنجیر کز عدل شاه

همه چشم شد در ره دان خواه

- (۷) بر احوال مرثم چنان سر حساب (الله)
- که داند چه بینند شبها بخواب (محمد)
- (۸) در ایوان شاهی بصد احتشام
چو خورشید بر چرخ بادا مدام
- (۹) چو ایوان از عالم آراء شد
سر خاک از ر آسمان ساء شد
- (۱۰) شهنشاه آفاق شاه جهان (عمر)
که نازد بار ریح صاحبقران
- (۱۱) باین رونق و زیب و زینت مکان
ندیده بر ر زمین آسمان
- (۱۲) بود صحن بامش چو سیمای مهر
بزیرش فتاده چو سایه سپهر
- (۱۳) بتاریخش اندیشه آرد زر (علی)
در فیض شد باز از چار سو
- (۱۴) چنین گفت طبع حقایق شناس
سعادت سراء و همایون اساس

Translation.

(1) "On account of this delightful and magnificent palace the head of Akharāhād has come to touch the heavens.

(2) "Its parapets against the forehead of the sky look like the teeth of sin¹ in the word سیه (sky).

(3) "Touching with forehead the gateway of this delightful mansion removes the inscription of misfortune from the forehead.

(4) "Nobility is (hut) a word in his praise (and) prosperity abounds in the skirts of his palace.

(5) "The path of tyranny is absolutely² closed, (and) by his Chain of Justice oppression is stopped.³

(6) "I am proud of the Chain inasmuch as, by the King's justice, it is ever ready to do justice to those who seek it.

(7) "He is so well aware of the condition of his subjects that he comes to know what they see in their dreams at night.

(8) "May he, in his royal palace, live for ever with a hundred splendours like the sun in the sky!

(9) "When his palace decorated the world, the head of the earth on account of it touched the heavens.

(10) "The Emperor of the world, Shāh Jahān, (is the monarch) of whom the soul of Sāhib Qirān⁴ is proud.

(11) "A building so graceful, beautiful and decorated the sky has never seen on the earth's surface.

(12) "The courtyard of its upper storey is like the forehead of the sun, (and) below it lies the sky like a shadow.

¹ The teeth of the letter س are its sharp projections.

² The words بیش و کم (lit. more or less) here mean that oppression, whether more or less, was entirely atopped.

³ *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* (Persian text, pp. 3-4) says that Jahāngīr got a gold chain hung in his palace in such a way that the other end of it was hanging outside the Fort on the river side which the oppressed might pull unobstructed. The Emperor was thus enabled to call them to his presence and redress their grievances. The same sort of chain seems to have been used by Shāh Jahān also in his *Diwān-i-Khāṣ* as appears from the 5th and 6th couplets of the inscription in question.

⁴ Sāhib Qirān (lit. Lord of happy conjunction) was the title borne by Amīr Timūr, better known as Tamerlane.

(13) (To inform me) of its date Reason appeared, the gates of munificence opened on all sides,

(14) "So said the truth-loving mind, '(It is an) asylum of prosperity and an auspicious mansion'."

The chronogram '*Sa'adat saray-e-humāyūn asās*' gives the date of the erection of the *Dīwān-i-Ḥāṣ* 1046 A. H. (1636.37 A.D.).

INSCRIPTION NO. 4. On the Black Marble Throne, along its sides.

(۱) چون شاه سلیم وارث تاج و نكین

بر تخت نشست و بست گیتی آئین

(۲) شد اسم مبارکش جهانگیر چو ذات

رز نور عدالت لقبش نورالدین

(۳) بادشاهی که تیغ از سازد

چون دو پیکر سر عدو بد و نیم

(۴) باشد این تختگاه فرخنده

تکیه گاه خدایگان کریم

(۵) معک خسروان پاء ملک

مهرمه را عیار بر زر رسیم

(۶) مسند باصفا ز نور و ضیا

گوهر بی بها چو در یتیم

(۷) پے تاریخ از بفر شدم

مددے جستم از خدای حکیم

(۸) تا فلک تختگاه خورشید است

گفت ماند سریر شاه سلیم

سنه ۱۰۱۱ هـ

Translation.

(1) "When Shāh Salīm, the heir to the crown and seal, ascended the throne and ruled over the world,

(2) "His auspicious name, like his person, became *Jahāngir* (Conqueror of the world), and on account of the light of (his) justice he was entitled *Nūru-d-Dīn* (Light of the Faith).

(3) " (He is) a king whose sword cuts the enemy's head into two halves like the constellation of Castor and Pollux stars.

(4) "May this fortunate throne be the asylum of munificent sovereigns!

(5) " (May it be) the touchstone of angel-like monarchs to test the gold of the sun and the silver of the moon!

(6) " (May it be) an elegant seat on account of its brilliancy and splendour, (and) invaluable like the only pearl in the oyster!

(7) "For its date I reflected and sought help from the Omniscient God,

(8) "Who said, 'So long as the sky is the throne of the sun, may the throne of Shāh Salīm last! 1011 A. H. (1602-03 A.D.).'

In the centre of the north and south faces of the throne are the following two hemistiches of a couplet:—

سریر حضرت سلطان سلیم اکبر شاه

همیشه باد مزین بنور مهر اله

Translation.

"May the throne of Haẓrat Sultān Salīm, son of Akbar Shāh, ever shine under the glow of God's mercy."

Underneath the inscription on the eastern side is another Persian inscription in prose which runs as follows:—

اسم سامی پیش از جلوس شاه سلیم ر بعد از ان
نورالدین محمد جهانگیر بادشاه غازی

Translation.

"His dignified name, before accession, (was) *Shāh Salim*¹, and afterwards, *Nūruddīn Muḥammad Jahāngīr Bādshāh-i-Ghāzī*."

INSCRIPTION NO. 5. Mandir Rāja Ratan. Over the central arch between the sandstone brackets are three stone tablets bearing the following inscription in 13 lines:—

Tablet No. 1.

هو الكافي

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(۱) چوں ز مهاراج پرتی اندر شجاع²

گشت این قلعه روشن ر زیبا

Tablet No. 2.

(۲) عادل ر اعتزاد راجه رتن

نیرن سکھ فوجدار اهل سخا

(۳) خانه بهیشت سرای حسب العکم

کرد تعمیر خورش نشان بقا

¹ Jahāngīr during his rebellion against Akbar was styled *Sultān Salim Shāh* and it was not before his lawful accession to the throne after the death of his father that he took the title of *Jahāngīr*; hence my view regarding the assignment of the construction of the throne to the rebel prince rather than to Emperor Akbar, as tradition avers.

² Vide footnote on p. 58.

Tablet No. 3.

(۴) باد منکوب دشمن بانی

دولت اندیش سینہ شاد و صفا

(۵) درش هاتف نظیر جنس را

بامکان خجسته دان نشانی

سنه ۱۱۸۲ هـ

Translation.

Tablet No. 1.

"He is Sufficient.

"In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

(1) "When by the (presence of the) brave Mahārāja, the lord of the world^{1*}, this Fort became resplendent and decorated,

* The name of Rāja Prithī Indra referred to in the inscription is rather puzzling. Apparently he was the ruler of the Jāts who occupied the Agra Fort. But the fact that this name is not mentioned in any history leads one to think that it was probably an honorific title (Lord of the World) rather than the name.

In the annals of the Jāts we read of certain titles of Rāja Jawāhir Singh, son of Sūrajmal, viz., "Braj-indra" and "Bharat-indra," but not "Prithī-indra." Now since the noble mansion was built in 1182 A. H. (1768 A. D.), or in the reign of Jawāhir Singh, the title of Prithī-indra appears to refer to him, and the inscription is therefore of particular interest inasmuch as it speaks of a title of Jawāhir Singh not known to history. It may however be argued that "Prithī-indra Shajā" was perhaps the title assumed by Sūrajmal himself, in imitation of which his son Jawāhir Singh assumed the two titles cited above, for Kāvī Sudān, the poetical biographer of the former, calls him "Sujān" and "Sujā" which may perhaps have been a corrupt form of "Shajā" used in the epigraph. But since Sūrajmal fell in battle with the Rohela chief Najibu-d-Danla in 1763, or full five years before the erection of the monument in question, its assignment to Rāja Jawāhir Singh is evidently plausible.

Tahlet No. 2.

(2) "The just and noble Rājā Ratan Nainsukh, the generous *Faujddr*,

(3) "Built, under the (Rājā's) orders, this felicitous house as a beautiful ever-lasting memorial.

Tahlet No. 3.

(4) "May the enemy of the builder be ever cursed and the well-wisher happy and gay!

(5) "Last night the heavenly voice spoke of this second paradise as the 'Auspicious house'.

1182 A. H. (1768-69 A. D.)."

The words 'Bā makān-i-Khujāta' yield the date 1182 A. H. (1768-69 A. D.).

INSCRIPTION NO. 6. Over the tomb of the Hon'ble J. R. Colvin in the court of the Dīwān-i-'Ām.

"In Memory

of

John Russell Colvin.

Born May 29, 1807.

Died in this Fort Sept. 9, 1857.

Lieut. Governor of the North-West Provinces of India."

INSCRIPTION NO. 7. Moti Masjid. Along the frieze over the front row of arches of the prayer chamber.

ایں کعبہ نورانی و بیت المعمور ثانی کہ صبح در جنب
صفائی آن شامیست تیره و خورشید از افراط ضیاء آن
چشمیست خیره کرسی پایدارش با ساق عرش همدش
و گنبد فیض بارش با رزاق فردوس هم آغوش بزیان عالی

شانش تبیان لمسجد اسس علی التقوی و ذره سپهر
 اقرانش ترجمان فاستوی دهر بالا فق الا علی هر گلدسته اش
 دسته نوبی بانوار کواکب بسته یا فراره فیضی از چشمه آفتاب
 بسته هر کلس زریزش شمع فروغ بخش قنادیل آسمانی
 هر معراب نور آکینش هلال نوید رسان عید جاردانی بر
 اعرانش قلعه لال نام مستقر الخلافه اکبر آباد که باز مردیس حصار
 سبع شدن پیوسته گوی هاله است دوز بدر منور که بر فیضان
 سحاب رحمت بر هانیست مبدین یا دایره است گرد مهر انور
 که بر ترشح اعطار کرامت نشانی اسس متین همان بهشتی
 قصریست والا از یک لولو لالا که از سر آغاز معموره دنیا
 مسجدیست سراسر از سنگ مرمر مصفا عدیل آن برره کار
 نیدامده و از بدو ظهور عالم معبدیست سراپا منور مجله نظیر آن جلوه
 ظهور نداده بفرمان خاتان سلیمان احتشام و سلطان خلیل
 احترام چهره افروز مسلمانی بانی مبانی جهانبانی شهنشاہ
 عرش بارگاه ظل الله خلاق پناه مرسس ارکان خلانت
 مرصص بنیان عدل و رافت بیمن قدمش زمین را بر آسمان
 هزاران نازر از دفر و نعمش آسمان را با زمین فراوان نیاز
 بخت و دولت را از عشق خدمتش دوام بیدایی ملک

و ملت را باجمال طلعتش کمال هوا داري باد بهشت
از خاک درگاه فلک جافش در یوزه گره آتش دروخ از آب
شمشیر دشمن کاهش وظیفه خررے

- (۱) بنای ملک را زر استواری
اساس عدل را زر پایداری
- (۲) مدام از چشمه تیغ ظفر خیز
کند پیمانه کفار لبریز
- (۳) جنابش را فلک خدمتگذارے
جببش را سحر آئینه دارے

قطب آسمان دین پرور و شریعت نوازی مرکز
دوران عدل گستری و مملکت طرازی ابرالمظفر شهاب
الدین محمد صاحب قران ثانی شاه جهان بادشاه غازی
بنا یافته و در عرض هفت سال بصرف سه لک روپیہ
او آخر سال بیست و ششم جلوس اقبال مانوس مطابق
سنه هزار و شصت و سه هجری پیرایه انجام در بر و تاج اختتام
بر سر گرفته ایزد بیدمال بپایان نیت حق طریقت این پادشاه
دین پنا [ه ؟] همگنان را توفیق اداے طاعات و اعتنائے
حسدت روز افزون کند و اجر دلالت و هدایت آنرا برزگار
فرخنده آثار این حق گزین حقیقت آگاه عاید گردانند
آمین یا رب العالمین

Translation.

" This resplendent *ka'ba* and the prototype of the temple of Mecca (i.e., *Ka'ba*) is (so brilliant) that, compared to it, the dawn of morning is (like) the dusk of evening, and the sun on account of its brightness is (like) an eye dazzled by brilliancy. Its firm plinth is as high as the foot of the sky, and its bounty-showering domes are embracing the roof of Paradise. Its magnificent foundation shows that it is a mosque founded on piety, and its heaven-like pinnacles look as if seated on the highest sky. Every *guldasta* of it is like a bunch of light from the bright stars or like a fountain of beneficence emanating from the stream of the sun. Every golden pinnacle of it is like a lamp imparting light to the heavenly luminaries; every luminous arch of it resembles the new moon in announcing the good news of the eternally happy 'Id. Around it is the red fort of the metropolis of Akharāhād which, with its emerald-like walls, resembles the seventh garden of *Shaddād*,* and looks like a halo round the bright full moon which is a clear proof of the advent of the clouds of Divine mercy (on the mosque); or it is a circle round the resplendent sun which is a sure sign of the coming fall of beneficent rain. Verily it is a palatial building of Paradise made (as it appears) of an invaluable pearl, for since the beginning of this inhabited world a parallel of this mosque built entirely of white marble has never been produced, and since the creation of the world no place of worship, like it, resplendent and brilliant from top to bottom, has ever appeared.

" It was built by order of the king of Solomon's glory; the sultān of Abraham's honour; the embellisher of the face of Islām; the originator of the administration of the world and the emperor whose court is dignified as the sky; the shadow of God; the protector of the people; the strengthener (i.e., strength) of the pillars of State and the mansion of justice and benignity; being graced by whose footsteps the earth claims superiority over the heavens in a thousand ways and on account of the profusion of whose gifts the heavens acknowledge their utmost inferiority to the earth; prosperity and wealth, through

* Name of a cruel king, founder of the so-called gardens of Iram.

love of service to whom, always keeps awake; the country and religion on account of the (blessed) beauty of whose countenance are flourishing; the breeze of Paradise is a heggar to the dust of whose heaven-like court; the fire of hell solicits a stipend from the temper (lit. آب - water) of whose sword which annihilates the enemies; (Verse)

- (1) Through whom the foundation of State is stable, (and) the basis of justice durable;
- (2) Always from the stream of whose sword the infidels' goblets (of life) are filled (i.e., whose sword cuts down the infidels);
- (3) To whom the sky is a slave (and) for whose face the dawn of morning is a mirror-holder (i.e., servant);

the pole-star of the sky which supports Faith and Divine Law; the centre of the circle of justice and administration; Ahu-l-Muzaffar Shihābu-d-Din Muḥammad, the second lord of the (happy) conjunction (of planets), Shāh Jahān Bādshāh Champion of the Faith; and in a course of 7 years, at a cost of three lakhs of rupees, towards the end of the 26th year of the auspicious accession corresponding to 1063 Hijri, it put on its hody the garment of finish and on its head the crown of completion (i.e., it was completed). Through the blessings of the righteous intentions of this king, defender (?) of the Faith, may God without compeer inculcate in the people the ever-increasing desire of performing devotions and doing virtuous deeds! And for their devotion and guidance may God award the truth-knowing and truth-loving king in his fortunate life! Amen, O Lord of the Universe."

INSCRIPTION NO. 8. On the east end wall of the guard house on the right hand under the gateway (Delhi Gate).

عصر شهنشاه خلافت پناه ظل الله جل جلاله محمد اکبر بادشاه

فی سن ۱۰۰۸

Translation.

"In the reign of the Emperor, defender of the realm, shadow of God, Jalālu-d-Din Muḥammad Akbar Bādshāh, in the year 1008 (1599-1600 A. D.)."

INSCRIPTION NO. 9. Undneath the inscription No. 8 is the following epigraph:—

- (۱) شاه جہاں چوں گرفت جاے بتخت شرف
تخت ز رفعت نہاد بر زبر چرخ پا
(۲) دست دعا برکشاد پیر فلک از نشاط
گفت کہ بادا مدام حکم تو فرمان روا
(۳) (خو) است کہ نامی کند سال جلوسش رقم
بود در آندم لبش پر ز ثنا (و دعا)
(۴) میل در چشم حسود یک الفش کرد و گفت
باد جہاں بادشاہ شاہ جہانگیر ما

Translation.

(1) "When the king of the world took his seat on the glorious throne, the throne, through pride, put its feet on the top of the heaven.

(2) "The age old sky being rejoiced stretched forth its hands in prayer and said, 'May thy order be ever supreme!'

(3) "When Nāmī wished to write the year of his accession, his lips wore full of praise (and prayer);

(4) "An *alif* (from his pen) rushed at the two (evil) eyes of the jealous, and said, 'May our king Jahāngir be the king of the world!'

The numerical value of the words '*Bād Jahān bādshāh Shāh-i-Jahāngir-i-mā*', according to the *abjad* calculation, yields 1015 A. H. and so deducting from it the numerical value of *alif*, i.e., 1, we get 1014 A. H. (1605 A. D.), the year of Jahāngir's accession.

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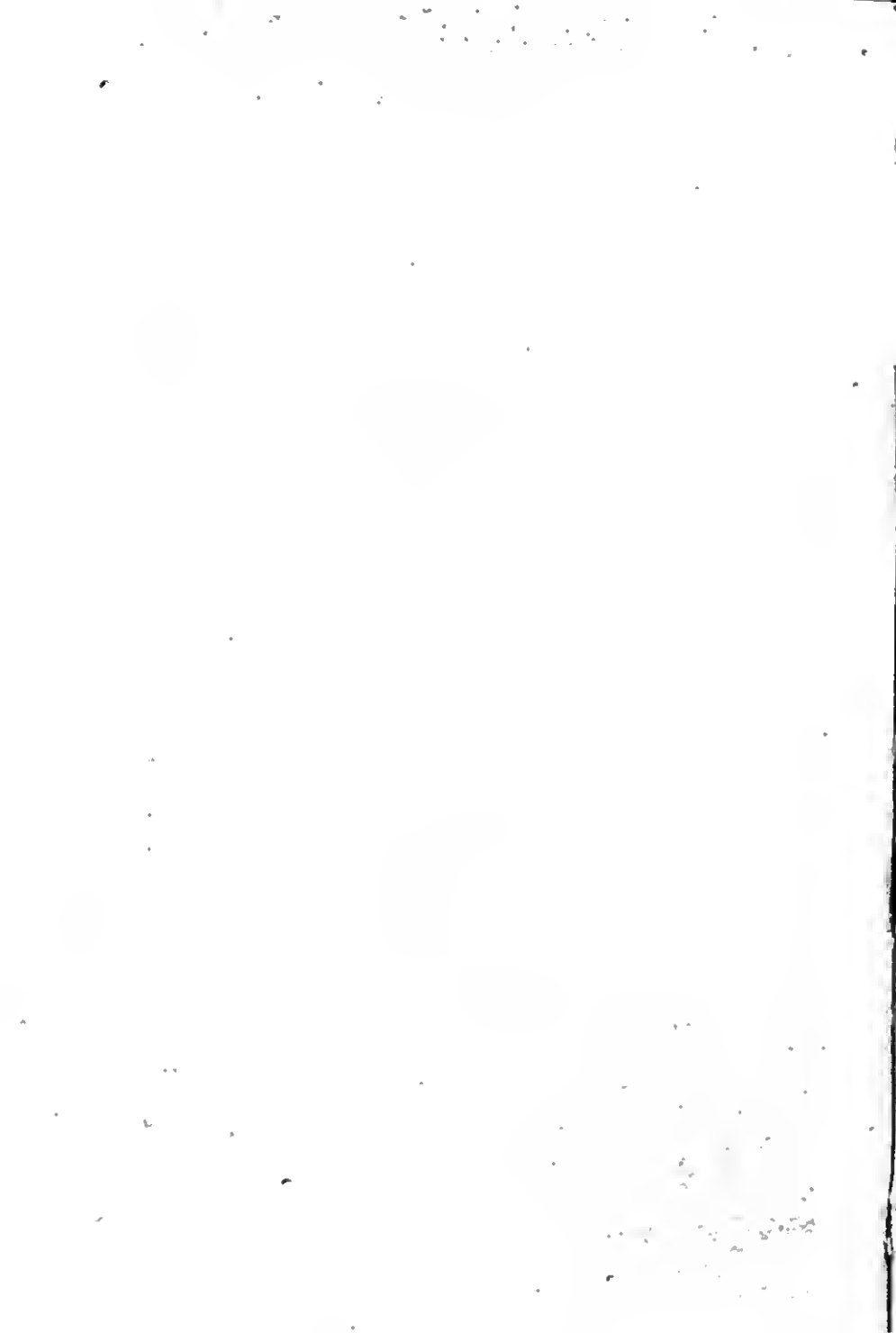
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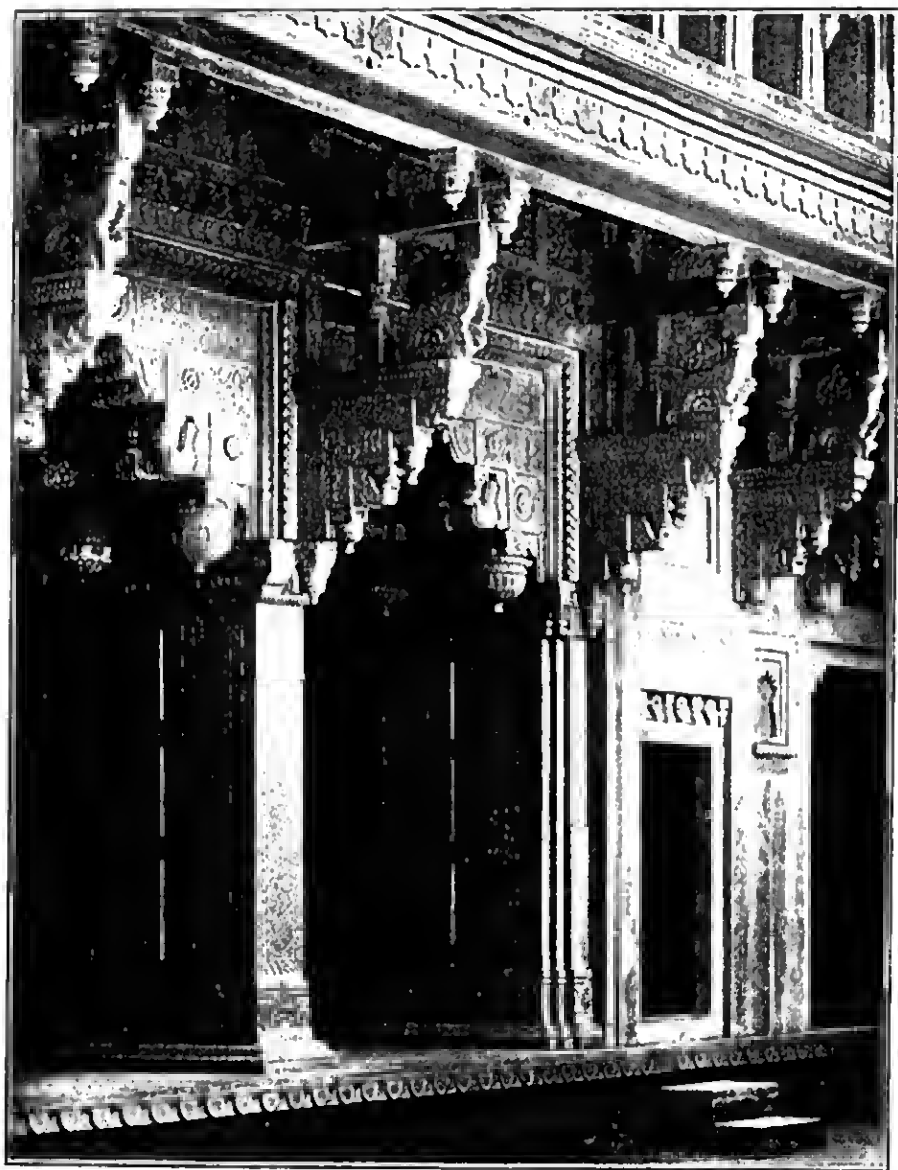
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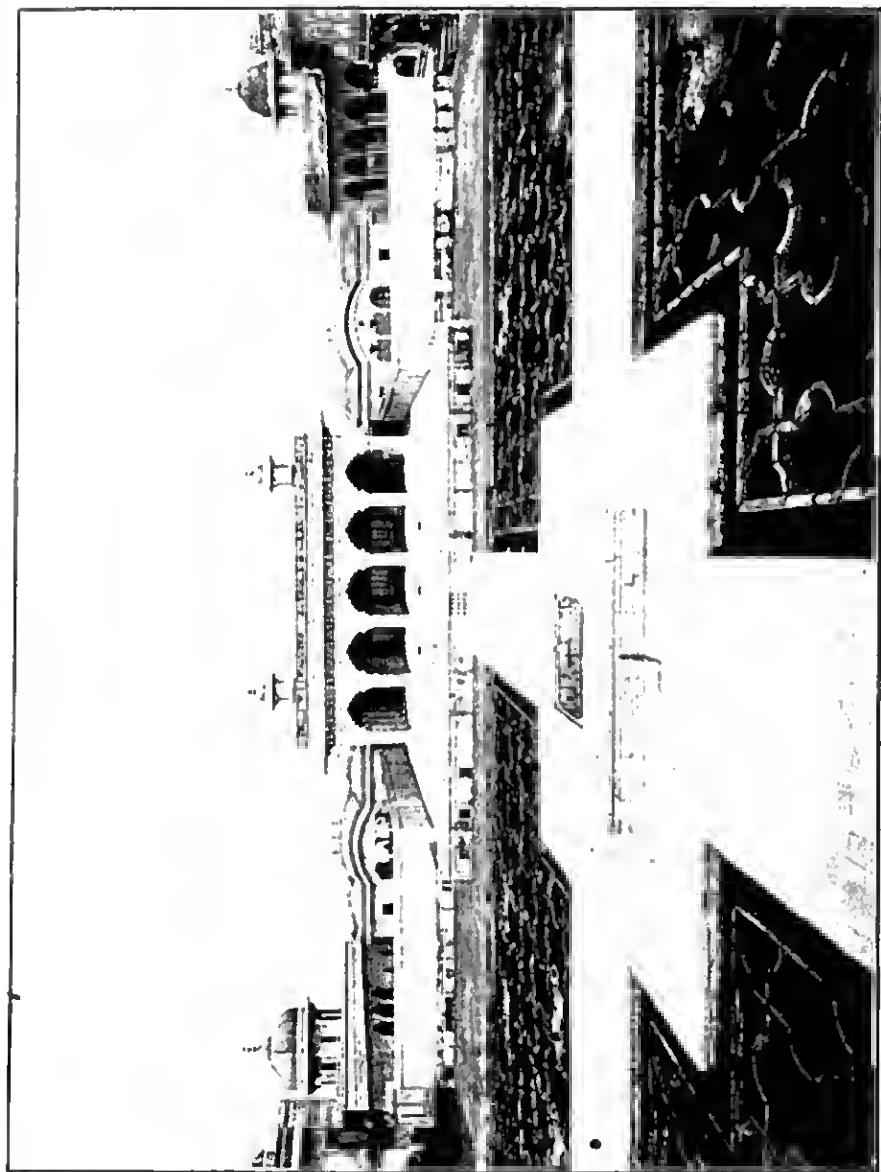


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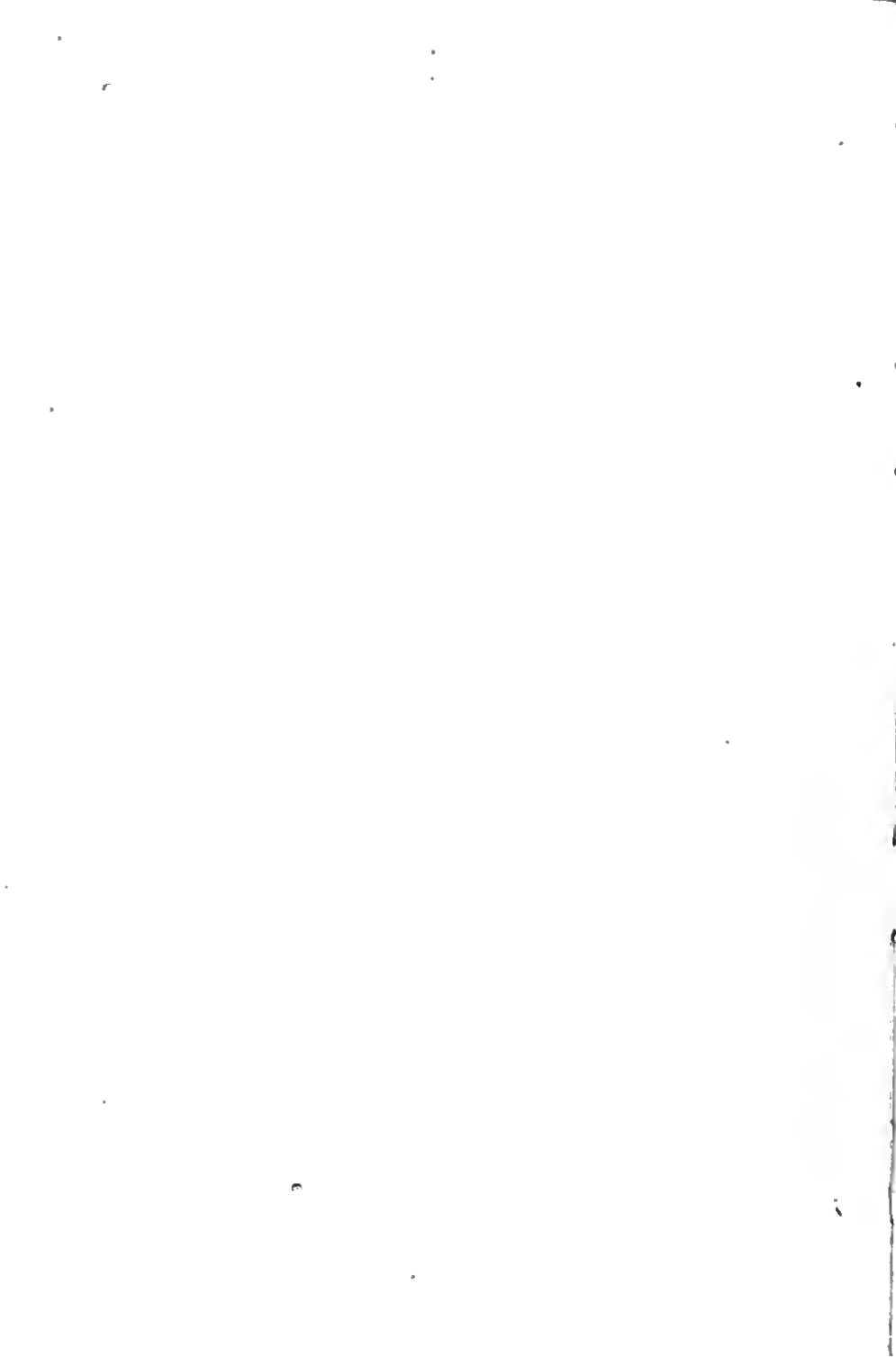


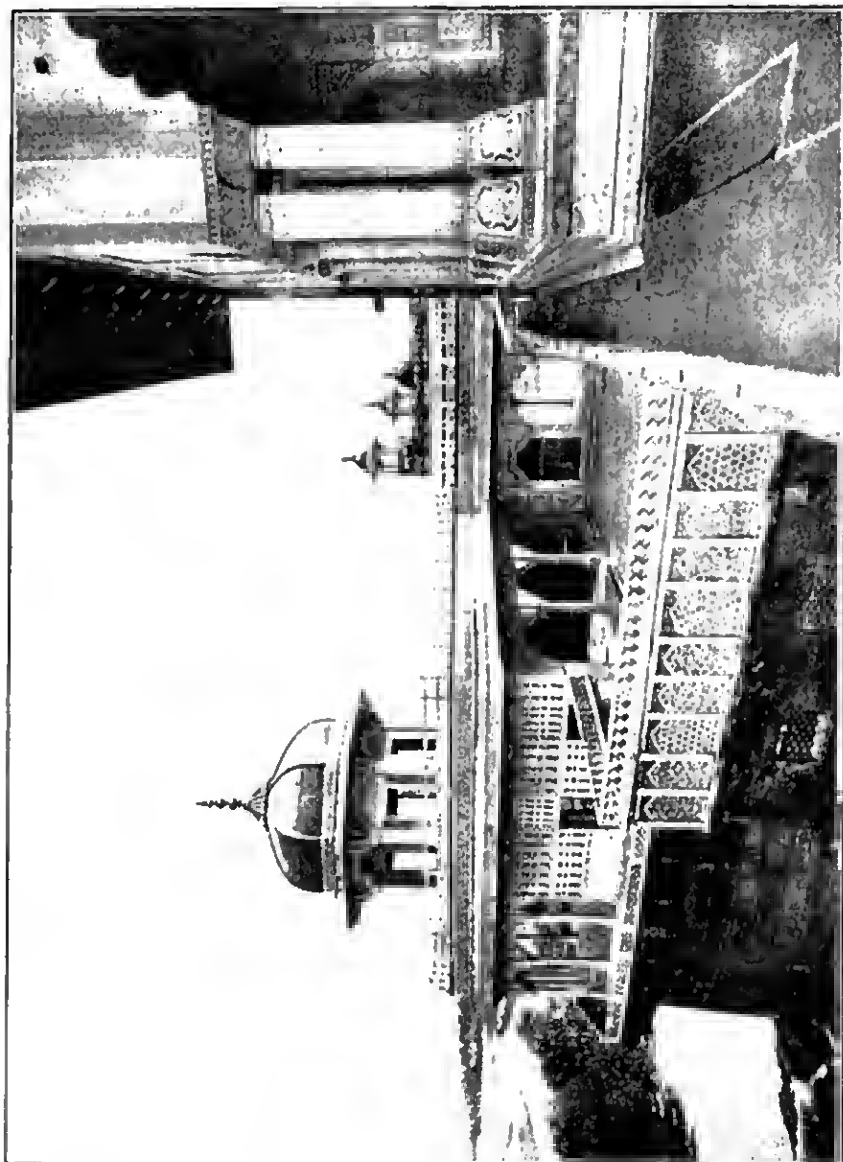
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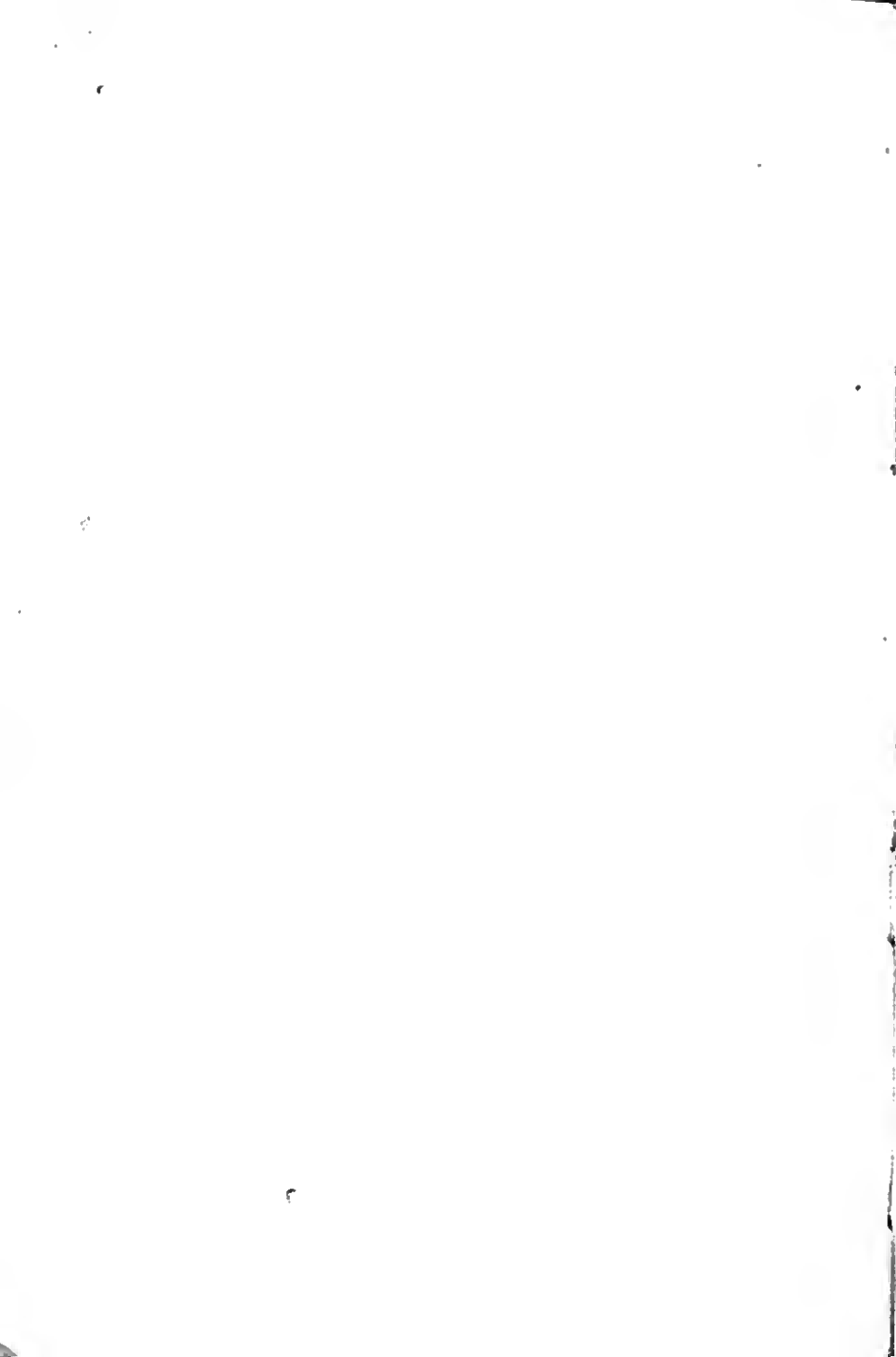


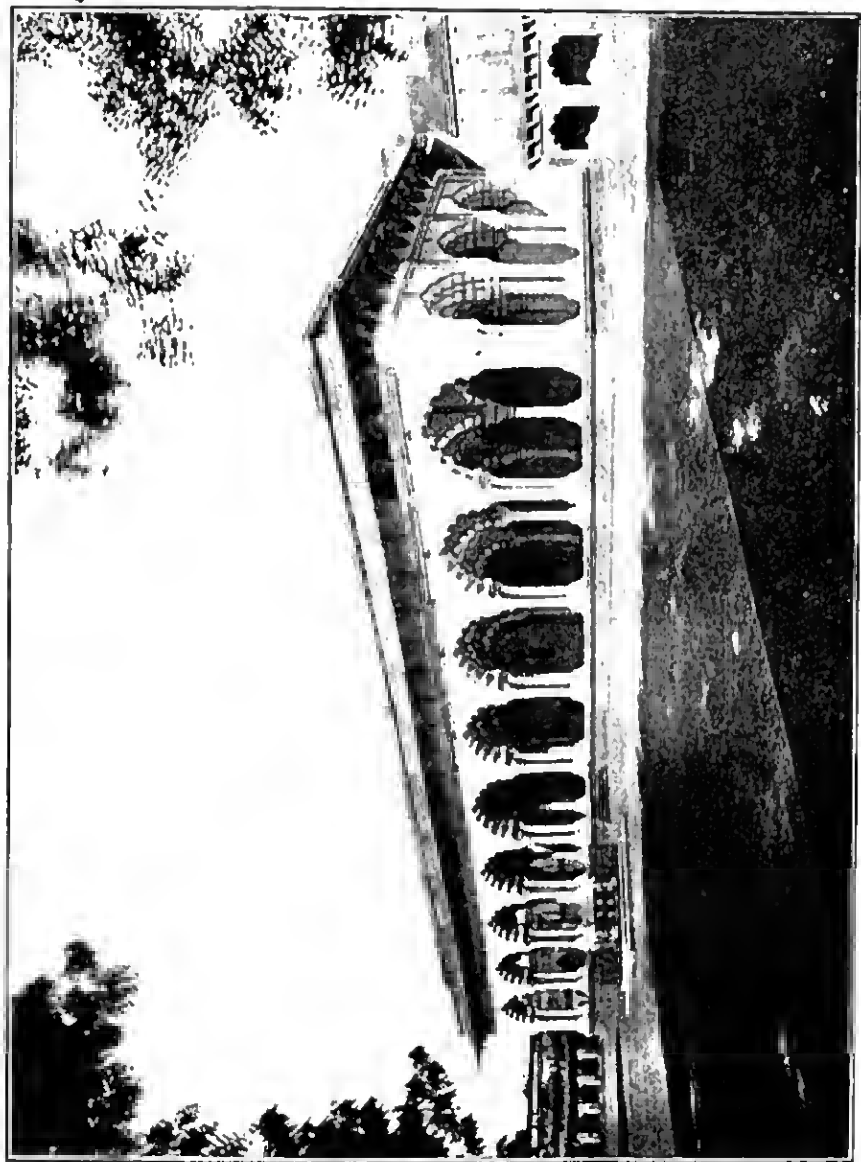
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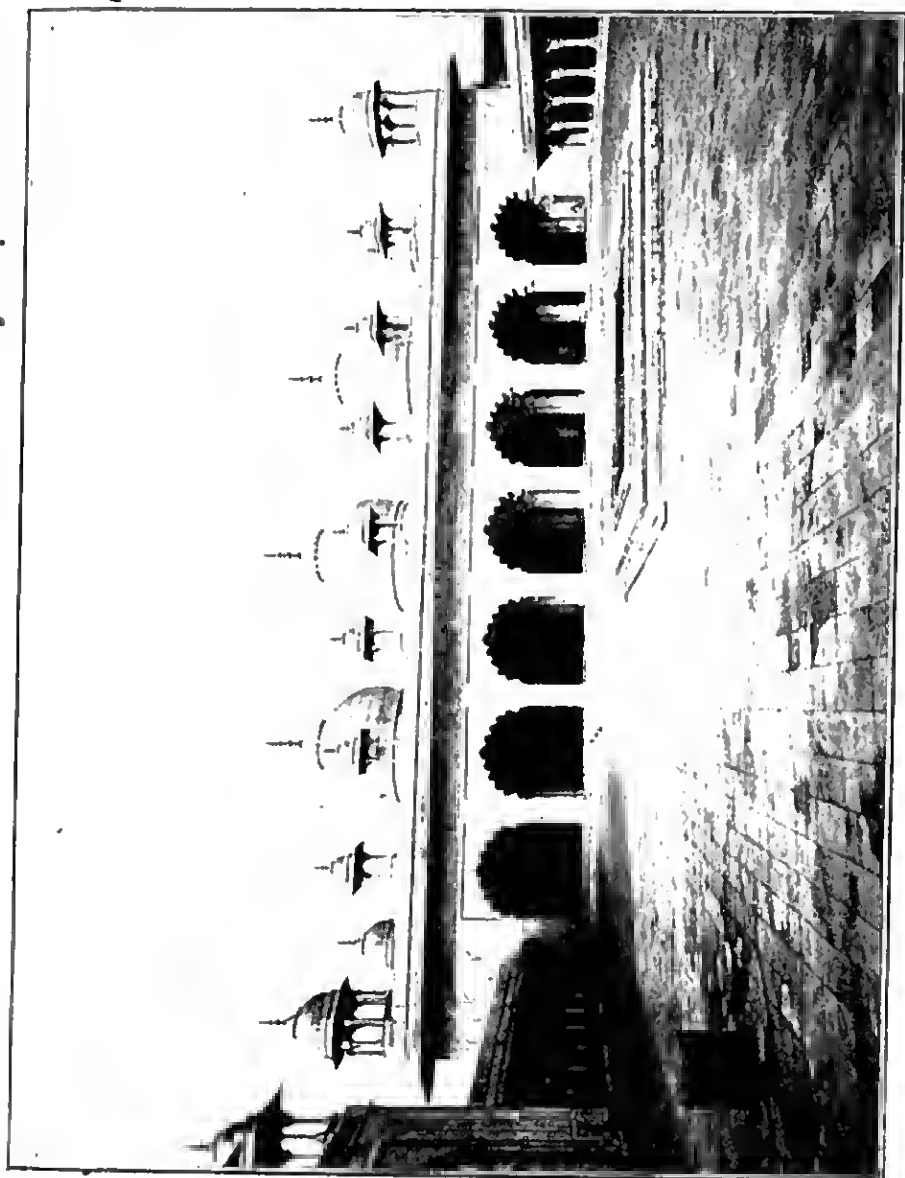


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AGRA FORT. Diwan-i-Am, General view from South-West.



AGRA FORT. Morti Masjid, Interior view showing the central marble tank, the prayer chamber and the sundial.





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